On the Library as Foundation:

Thinking On and Beyond Aby Warburg's Systematic Approach to Images and Culture

Logan Larsen

May 11, 2020

Art History Honors Program
The University of Texas at Austin

Advisor: Dr. Ann Reynolds
Associate Professor
Department of Art and Art History and Center for Women's and Gender Studies
The University of Texas at Austin

Abstract:

Aby Warburg (1866-1929) was a German art historian whose research focused on the remembrance and propulsion of antique forms throughout the history of art and culture. This paper will focus on two specific aspects of Warburg's legacy: his personal library and his image-based project, the *Mnemosyne Atlas*. Both served as essential research tools for Warburg during his lifetime, and they continue to be tools for understanding and responding to his work today.

My thesis consists of three chapters. The first focuses on the role of the library and Warburg's implementation of an idiosyncratic system, which he called the "Law of the Good Neighbor," within his library. This system, which is still used in an approximated form today, categorizes the books and images of the library according to their contents rather than by traditional methods like the Dewey Decimal system or the Library of Congress system, which organizes books by a set of pre-existent, broad genres or categories. I focus on the ongoing recreation and rearrangement of the library's contents through both continued acquisitions and the library's changing locations over the course of its history. The second chapter focuses on the *Mnemosyne Atlas*, an offspring of the library, which I argue similarly replicates "The Law of the Good Neighbor" system, just presented on mobile panels rather than the shelves of the library in an abbreviated, more succinct form. The third and final chapter focuses on my own relationship to these sources as an artist, focusing on the library and *Atlas'* influence by offering an account of their impact on my studio practice. I argue that my understanding of Warburg's work is fortified by my own replication and interpretation of Warburg's sources.

Table of Contents:

Acknowledgements:

I would first like to thank Dr. Ann Reynolds for being so gracious with both her time and knowledge and for guiding me on the path to this final paper. Ann's teaching and mentorship goes beyond the finitude of this paper, as her guidance has made me think and work in new and challenging ways that have reformed the way I see the world. Ann truly impressed on me the importance of the word and the arguments I make. This impression, which began in her class concerning the artwork of Joan Jonas, allowed me the space and time to see the way that art can build off a source and expand to encompass much more than a single idea. I am grateful to have worked under an art historian so versed and informed with similar concerns as my own and I am excited to continue looking to you and your research as a source of inspiration.

I would also like to thank Dr. Ann Johns for not only for guiding me through the process of writing this thesis, but for the past four years of mentorship and friendship. Dr. Johns was one of the first professors I got to know while studying at the University of Texas and I can't imagine my experience without you. Your guidance through Italy, along with the campaign to save the Fine Arts Library, as well as the countless times I sat in your office and gossiped have impacted my life and work in incalculable ways and I'm grateful I was able to learn through and with you.

I would also like to thank Professor's Annie May Johnston and Beverly Acha for their guidance concerning my own art practice. Their help and direction over the course of the past few years has made me consider my role as an artist and the way that I exist and make things in the world. I'm happy that I was able to study under such amazing and conscious artists who are so ready and willing to help see their students succeed.

There are also a number of other professors that I must note that had a direct impact on the content included in this paper. I want to thank Dr. Adele Nelson for first introducing me to Warburg's work all those years ago in her Issues in Visual Culture class. Without this initial exposure to Warburg and his methods I doubt this paper, or my research, would have ever occurred. I also want to thank Dr. Janice Leoshko for helping me to form and conceptualize an initial version of this paper in Methods. That paper and the early research I put into words - if scattered and infantile - impacted and informed the subsequent way that I wrote and thought about Warburg. I also want to thank Jason Urban, who though left UT before I could really develop and conduct my work with him, helped to inform and shape the way I look at Print and Printed Matter. It is partially because of you that I discovered Warburg's preoccupation with the library and it's you who brought the Risograph Machine to the Art Department (and who knows if we would still have a Fine Arts Library without it).

I am very grateful to all of these professors and many others who aren't named here, but who have also impacted my learning and thinking over the course of my college career. Without them I would not have been able to write this paper or have a semblance of the knowledge and research skills I now possess.

Reading room of the Warburg Library, Hamburg, Germany. 1926. Warburg Institute.

Introduction: An Image of the Library

The room is circular. A two-story arrangement with both floors lined with books. The space seems large and outfitted for use, yet it lacks the presence of people. There is an intense light that emanates from an unknown source, shining down and almost reflecting off the hard surface of the floor. This black and white image is a document. The space, the reading room of Aby Warburg's Library in Hamburg, Germany circa 1926. Relocated to this newly built housing in the same year, the library was structured to respond to each of Warburg's specifications for an ideal library; a proper container for the books that formed his collection. This setting became the site in which the scholar's work operated, and it provided the space in which his *Mnemosyne Atlas* could exist. This documentary photograph offers an ideal perspective in which to envision a practice headed by Warburg, as it allows for a viewpoint into his embodied ideal of the library.

I can only speculate on what the image doesn't show. I project into the image the smell of aging books and the dust that seems to fall over every library. I sense the quality of light that streams in through the unseen skylight, and I begin to place myself within the image. I allow the chairs and tables to become reference points from which I can position myself within this image, a way to enter this realm as it once existed. Though the vacant image is a recording of the space at its origin, I can't seem to remove my awareness of its future. I know the history of this space, and its fate clouds my viewing of its original siting. Though I know both the physical architecture and the collection that populated its shelves still survives, I can't get away from the separation that I know will occur only seven years after this image was taken. I begin to foresee the empty shelves, the boxed-up books, and the vacancy that will encapsulate this space.

Evacuated in 1933, the contents and staff of the library emigrated to the United Kingdom as a way to safeguard them against the rising tide of Fascism and anti-Semitism in Germany. The collection was nomadic until the University of London adopted the library in 1944. So, though the physical space still survives in Hamburg, and the contents that were once there still exist in London, I am left with the feeling of a body in two parts, like a hermit crab abandoning its shell for a new casing. They now have to be read and interacted with as separate entities, one formerly encapsulated in the other. The once empty shell of the Warburg Haus in Hamburg is now a space utilized to continue the work of its founder, and the Warburg Library in London is still a growing collection continuing the work and systems of its founder almost 100 years after his death. Yet, neither entity can be read without considering its separation from the other. I can only think about these two halves as originally part of a larger whole, separated and marked by the scar of history.

Building a Conceptual Space

I begin with an image of the library because it is the conceptual realm on which I have based my paper. This entire thesis is structured around a series of outgrowths that were spawned by the library itself, whether that be the categorical system implemented within the collection termed "The Law of the Good Neighbor," the *Mnemosyne Atlas,* or my own artwork in response to these two entities. And while I was never able to explore the Warburg Library on my own in advance of writing this paper, my account of the library and the *Atlas* were developed in a way similar to the way I make artwork, with a slow exposure to images and an extended read of relevant sources. I have based my analysis of Warburg's work on images of the library, as well as firsthand accounts from people working within the library. Just as space—both physical and conceptual—were important to Warburg, they and their various representations are equally important to consider when writing about Warburg's library and *Mnemosyne Atlas* now.

This thesis is another creation of a space in which to consider Warburg's linage and the offspring of forms that have come to define it. Whether bound together in a book or scrolled through on a device, the multitude of reproductions considering the *Mnemosyne Atlas* allow and create a dedicated space in which to think about and consider Warburg's work. Much like the *Atlas* existed within and beyond the realm of the library I see this paper as an extension beyond the spaces Warburg created for himself. He hoped for this extension of his work outside of the strict realm of art history or the library in general. I hope that this thesis fulfills a number of the aims that could never be completed due to the death of Warburg and extends a number of the ideas he began to contemplate.

The Structure

My thesis consists of three chapters. In the first, I focus on Warburg's Library as both a physical space and a conceptual body, employed through the arrangement of the library's collection. This arrangement of Warburg's is implemented through his idiosyncratic system, which he called "The Law of the Good Neighbor," within his library. This system, which is still used in an approximated form today, categorizes the books and images of the library according to their contents rather than by traditional methods like the Dewey Decimal system or the Library of Congress system, which organizes books by a set of pre-existent, broad genres or categories. This system has had an evolving set of interpretations. The library, as an entity today, exists as a result of this series of changing assortments, passed down through time originating with Warburg's own arrangements and then edited, added to, and rearranged by generations of librarians at the Warburg Library. The placement of the books was meant to facilitate unexpected finds and fill in gaps of knowledge which were bridged by subsequent additions and reconfigurations of the library.

In this chapter, I look at how this collection, which was originally only used by Warburg, grew to become a public resource, and how the staff of the Library had to pin down the system, mapping its intricacies for newcomers to the space. The space, of course, has its own set of categories which order the body of this collection, which at their most basic can be described as Image, Orientation, Word, and Action, with an additional number of sub-categories separated across the different floors of the library. I also consider Warburg's conception of physical space, how "Denkraum," as Warburg termed it, could represent a physical thought space in which to conduct research and enact thought. The chapter concludes with a consideration of how this thought space has been altered, both positively and negatively, by moves that have befallen the

collection over the course of its life. These alterations of the physical space and architecture of the library changed the integral make-up and understanding of the arrangement of books within the "Law of the Good Neighbor" system, therefore creating different variations on Warburg's own conception of the thought-space with each variation of the library.

In Chapter Two, I consider the *Mnemosyne Atlas* as an outgrowth of Warburg's library. While the library is this evolving and growing resource used to this day, the *Atlas* effectively died with the death of its creator. And while the books in the Warburg Library can be endlessly rearranged, the images on the panels of the *Atlas* are frozen in time. They are effectively immobile images which record a work forever unfinished. This unfinished quality, captured in the documentary images ordered by Warburg, is an important aspect to note because it shapes our understanding and interpretation of the work as a whole. I propose that the documentation of the *Atlas* at this stage has left significant room for interpretation as to how the *Atlas* has been reconceived and re-presented over the course of its history, both fulfilling and changing the perceived intention of Warburg's study and scholarship.

To understand the larger implications of the *Mnemosyne Atlas* I conduct an image analysis on Panel 79, the perceived 'end' of the sequence. In this panel, Warburg directly referenced contemporary events, presented in visual conversation with art history. The signing of the Lateran Treaty in 1929 serves as the conceptual touchstone for this panel; it includes a number of reproductions documenting this event. These press images were pinned alongside a range of reproductions from art history, pages from the library, and newspaper clippings. This panel provides an important shift in the media and content included in the *Atlas* because it brought into focus Warburg's preoccupation with the everyday, and his placement of it in conversation with art history.

In this chapter I also consider the *Atlas'* siting within the space of the library, looking at the documentation of the panels ordered by Warburg. These images, as documentations of a work in progress, leave much to be considered. As a context, the library's presence on the periphery of these images, I argue, is an important visual to consider in the context of the entire *Atlas*. I also look at the multitude of ways the *Atlas* has been edited/changed to make it fit within a book format. I focus on a specific version of the *Atlas* created by Warburg's fellows in which they remove many of the elements that make Warburg's approach unique. I then look at the subsequent publication of these documentary images ordered by Warburg in a form which might have resembled what Warburg intended and compare it to another publication of the images that Warburg never could have imagined.

I end the chapter with another, much more recent interpretation of the *Atlas*, in which curators have attempted to reassemble it from the categorical strata of the library and its image collection. I argue that this recreation of the whole *Atlas* disregards its history and is simply a restaging of something that doesn't need to be recreated. The language surrounding this presentation frames this version of the *Atlas* as *the original* rather than a recreation of it from the documentary, in-progress images which comprise the images that exist of the *Atlas*. Instead of working to emulate and work in response to Warburg's creation the curators seem to be interested in the direct one-to-one recreation of the *Atlas* as it once existed. It is an illegitimate recreation of the object, which will change the meaning of the *Atlas* as a whole and confuse our understanding of the object and its representation.

In Chapter Three, I look at my own relationship to Warburg's Library and the *Atlas* as an artist. I follow the unexpected ways in which Warburg's study of art history, as manifested in his library and the *Atlas* entered my mind and how these two entities both cohesively and separately

informed my practice. My knowledge of Warburg began through a very general awareness of two of his major contributions to art history and followed with an increasing, but very slow percolation of exposure to his work, concluding in this paper. The act of studying Warburg has been this successive act of learning and re-learning about his work; each time my perception of the man and his work have changed a great deal.

While my work is not a direct replication of Warburg's method of presenting of images, I have learned through the presentation of images how to position them to make meaning in relationship to the way they are displayed and arranged. Like Warburg, I too pin up images and present what seem to be dissimilar images in an attempt to make meaning with my presentation. Through my study of images, I have adopted his preoccupation with images and the content they can convey. Through an evaluation of the series of works I made I argue that my understanding of Warburg's art historical practice is fortified by my reinterpretation of his work through the lens of my studio practice. I conclude the chapter with a discussion concerning the optimal way to view my work once its presentation in the gallery space has concluded and view this preservation of a working space in relation to the presentation of the *Atlas*, as the multitude of versions which exist to depict the project provide an array of case studies in which to critique and question the aims of Warburg's project.

Chapter One: Mapping the Library

In Umberto Eco's novel *The Name of the Rose*, the library becomes a main character. In this fictional murder mystery, set in a 14th Century Italian monastery Eco toys with the idea of who has access to knowledge and how information is contained or suppressed within this secluded community of Monks. The narrative centers around two protagonists set to catch a murderer who, through a series of symbolically loaded killings played out over the course of a week, terrorizes the monastery. Each of these murders relates to one of the seven trumpeters of the apocalypse, with each murder representing a different reference to this biblical end time. For the protagonists, the library holds the key to the mystery played out across the pages of the novel. In Eco's narrative the library is constructed at a human scale, but built as a labyrinth, contained within a stone tower inside the tall walls of the monastic establishment. In an effort to understand the motives of the killer the two protagonists map the labyrinth-like library, defining the real and physical bounds of this space and its arrangements. From this mapping they find a series of corridors composed in a sequence of hexagonal rooms. The builders of this system and the librarians who use the space categorized the collection based on their ordering of the world. The library, with its number of particular tendencies and unique classification systems, imitates a physical map, breaking down its categorical sections in relation to actual locations and separating its contents according to these distinct portions of the world. In deciphering the system of the labyrinthine library, the protagonists discover more about the nature of its users, and therefore discover the killer. At the end of Eco' novel as the chase for the murderer ensues, the library catches fire, and the inferno consumes all, destroying this repository of books.

Eco's conception of the library is based on Jorge Luis Borges' short story "The Library of Babel," in which the library and its contents are assembled to represent the universe.[1] The

library of Borges' imagination contains every book ever written and every book that ever will be written.[2] It relies on the infinite assortment and shifting of periods, commas, and the 26 letters which compose our alphabet.[3] These elements, as the molecular makeup of every book and piece of writing, display the totality of all possible human knowledge waiting to be read. Certain texts are distinguished from what would be their exact copy but for the exclusion or addition of a comma, a misspelled word, or a missing period. The library, as imagined by Borges and appropriated by Eco, is structured to both map the universe and contain it. One is bound by human limits while the other is this infinite repository, a system that though accessible, could never fully be unpacked.

I use these narratives to set up a framework within which to view Aby Warburg's unique library. Both narratives speak to the way that knowledge is provided for or excluded from an audience. In Eco's novel the library is open only to a select few—its librarians—and the only way to call for a book is to request it from a select catalogue which doesn't begin to reflect the wealth and span of the library. The actual wealth of the library is only open to these select few librarians who hold the key to the labyrinth. With this condition the librarian is therefore the holder of power and controller of knowledge. While in Borges' imagining, the library is open, its sheer scale and amount of information threatens to overwhelm the user who has to comb through it piece-by-piece, unable to ever fully work with or read the entire, infinite library. In defining these systems there is an understanding of the different ways that one can conceptualize a library and its order. They present two different images of the reasoning behind an ordering of books and a systematic approach to the universe.

Unlike Borges's or Eco's libraries, Aby Warburg's library exists on a human scale, in a tangible location and as a particular collection, though limited as all libraries are, by human

conditions and monetary means, space, and values. Warburg's library reflected its creator's intentions for the library through its contents and their arrangement. The organization of this collection is what makes the Warburg Library unique. This organizational system, termed the "Law of the Good Neighbor," began as a way for Warburg to arrange his vast assortment of books based on their contents rather than on typical Library classifications like that of the Library of Congress System or the Dewey Decimal System. The system placed books which Warburg saw as relating to one another together on the stacks, and as the collection grew so did the arrangements. The placement of the books on the shelves was constantly changing and evolving. As described by Fritz Saxl, Warburg's research companion, the point of this system was to support unexpected finds in the library:

> The arrangement of the books was equally baffling… Warburg never tired of shifting and re-shifting them. Every progress in his system of thought, every new idea about the inter-relation of facts made him re-group the corresponding books. The library changed with every change in his research method. And with every variation of his interests. Small as the collection was, it was intensely alive… The book which one knew was in most cases not the book which one needed. The unknown neighbor on the shelf contained the vital information, although from its title one may not have guessed this. The overriding idea was that the books together - each containing its larger or smaller bit of information and being supplemented by its neighbors - should by their titles guide the student to perceive the essential forces of the human mind and its history. Books were for Warburg more than instruments of research. Assembled and grouped they expressed the thought of mankind in its constant and in its changing aspects.[4]

This highly curated space was not simply a repository for books; it was a space which forced the reader to discover new and unexpected sources while browsing the stacks. It was a physical space that through juxtaposition of its contents created unexpected meaning. In a way, the library's arrangement suggested the user's next research step through the books to the right and left of the one the user was looking for. The pertinent book, with its compatriots on the shelf, developed a relationship and conversation among sources.

The classification of the library at its most basic could be seen through four categories: Image – Orientation – Word – Action. And each of these categories takes up a floor of the Library.[5] There was, with this overarching system of four main categories, a multitude of sub-categories, allowing for a specialized break down for each theme Warburg wanted to address.[6] These subcategories, or "nodes" of information, as they are called in the Warburg Library, initiate conversations that continue to happen across time, passing knowledge from one person to another through their assortment of sources. There is a push and pull between why something is in one section and not another, forcing one to ask what makes the placement of the book in a particular section meaningful.

What began as a personal device used to categorize the growing collection of books Warburg had accumulated, became a communal space which required an influx of librarians and research fellows to lead the curation of the collection and the training of newcomers to the library. With this shift in access, the library morphed from this personal research device to one that had many hands in its management. This handing off of constructing arrangements allowed for the development of newly specialized groupings of books on specific subjects, each curated by specialists on these subjects. Michael Baxandall makes this ongoing curation evident in his description of his research in a small section of the library devoted to German Humanists:

> I was told it had been a special care of Hans Meier, an Institute librarian… who himself worked in this field. It was a surprisingly small and brilliantly constructed section. It was small partially because Meier had selected very fastidiously only the books, brochures, and scruffy offprints that actually did something. There was no academic or celebratory junk here at all: one knew that not to look, at least, at every item would be to deprive oneself. The order in which they were arranged within the section played an idiosyncratic game between topography and chronology, stimulating because unobvious. I cannot claim to have understood all its implicit rationale of priority, transmission, and affinity, though there certainly is such.[7]

With such a specific organizational system in which the placement of books conveys so much, the presence or absence of a book within one node or another impacts the perceived meaning of the section. And whereas the absence that I am discussing could be disregarded in a library organized along traditional lines, the Warburg Library cannot take the liberty to not justify one placement over another.

The question then turns to how to chart the arrangement of books when their basic orientation seems to be in constant flux. To understand the way these mappings have been charted in the past, I refer to scholar Katia Mazzucco's analysis of a single image from the Warburg Image collection in her article, "(Photographic) Subject-Matter: Fritz Saxl Indexing Mnemosyne – A Stratigraphy of the Warburg Institute Photographic Collection's System."[8] Mazzucco conducted her study on an original plate, *Figure de la Salle* taken from *Balet de la Royne* series, pulled from a folder in the original files of the image collection. While Mazzucco's analysis is conducted on an image rather than a book, the two collections are categorized by the same system. Mazzucco claims that the study and linage of this image are important because, the

photograph "bears important metadata testifying to a liminal position between different systems of classification for art documentary photographs – one based on work type/ style/ topography, and the other based on subjects."[9] Mazzucco sees the array of different systems and classifications Warburg applied to the images as part of a larger array of "archival stratification" present in the library.[10] Mazzucco works through the system, thinking about what is excluded and how the cataloger or librarian must have come to decide on the best placement for this image; in essence the location that would convey the most.[11] The system is based in human thought, and at its most basic, human choice, one individual's professional opinion over another. Speaking about the information which defines how a book or image is categorized in the library, Mazzucco states that "in classifying images according to a system with given rules, it is not possible to attach all of these data to each single photograph."[12] It is the role of the cataloger to select "information and then construct cross references" which are then recorded in a system that "as much as possible, physically reproduces the conceptual system…"[13] The reproduction of this conceptual system is now seen in the online catalogue.[14] The attempt can be made to replicate this unique system through digital means, yet this approximation cannot stand in for the actual experience of browsing in the stacks. The life force and essence of the Warburg Library comes from this human interaction with the books unmediated by a screen. And while the catalogue can provide the title and bibliographic data on a book it can never quantify the tactile experience of working with a book in the space.

Beyond these catalogue lists there are also hidden gems in the stacks of the library that aren't recorded, either because of clerical error or human decision. Christopher S. Wood in his own research in the library, refers to a time when he found a photocopy included in the stacks:

> Significant for me was the moment in London, a classic Warburg Library moment, when I fell on an unexpected volume in the stacks. This was a bound photocopy of an antiquarian manuscript in the Royal Library in Stockholm… The Library pulled the photocopy of the Stockholm manuscript to its shelves, where it sat among the real books to its left and right, the unlikely projection of some other scholar's intuition… I do not find the Stockholm photocopy in the current online catalogue of the Library… Perhaps it exists only for the physical visitor to the stacks, a book deaf to the thin call of the digital researcher.[15]

Because the original document Wood refers to wasn't "owned" by the Warburg Library it wasn't recorded at the time in the online catalogue, and it only existed within the configuration of books in the stacks. The inclusion of this bound photocopy is another lens to see the collections through, another point of the human hand and mind at play within the stacks, a passage of one scholar's notes to another. This inclusion speaks to relevance and the crafting of a worthwhile collection of information, either owned or not. The addition of a photocopy to the stacks breaks typical systems of originality and value and changes the way we work with sources; it reflects this slow accumulation of sources passed down to new users in the form of the collection. The attempt to bring the world to one's fingertips. The limitations of online databases is perhaps an ongoing process of bringing the library into the digital.

Like many who can't be in the space, I have to rely on the online catalogue to inform my understanding and comprehension of the collection. From my own experience working with the catalogue I begin to think about how to replicate the experience of walking through the stacks. The first, most basic step towards an approximation is the online plug-in which provides the user with the ability to see the books that accompany a book to the left and right of it, an endless

scroll of titles and call numbers present on this digital shelf. This approximation of the shelf is helpful but inherently not the same experience of being in the shelves and having the ability to handle a book. Opening and handling a book, beginning from any location within its binding, thumbing through, flipping back and forth, quickly scanning the contents for relevant information permits a quick tactility which allows for a relationship that doesn't resemble the monotonous non-materiality of the digital reproduction. Even if each link to the book located on the shelf is connected to a digital representation of its interior, this scrolling through cannot accurately approximate the real experience of working in the stacks. The quick and assured glance into the inside of a book, rather than just viewing its title and synopsis online, allows a user to get a true estimate of the book's contents, not just the limited bibliographic information an online database prescribes. This method of digital replication, even if possible, also brings with it a litany of legal and copyright issues which would make this form of the library inaccessible.

Silence

Walter Benjamin, in "Unpacking my Library," discusses how memory is stored in the books which populate one's collection, but only through handling and working with them outside of their stationary positions on the shelves is this memory activated. Benjamin's essay begins with the exploration of the potential energy stored in the crates that contain his personal library. The unboxing of these books brings about a kinetic energy, a flood of memory which rushes out once the books are unpacked. These recollections as Benjamin describes them, consist of memories of the hunt, the find, and the life lived with each book. As temporary vertical stacks of books form from their unboxing, ready to topple with their unstable arrangements, the unspoken

order that comes with the shelving of the books has yet to take effect. Once the books reach the shelf they are controlled, placated by their positioning on the shelf. In unpacking one's library, one is able to recount, to reconnect, and to reminisce about the collection, which leads to the subsequent remembering and the creation of new memories about the thing handled. This relationship with the collection is one we can assume Warburg would have had with his own collection, an ability to recite all of the lived experiences with these objects. And while the library began as a personal collection, there are also the subsequent users' memories of the library once Warburg was no longer alive. These second type of users developed and continue to develop a communal memory which is constantly constructed and reconstructed with each person's interaction with the collection. So, while the death of Warburg was a metaphorical and literal silencing of the memory of the library, the library and Warburg's intentions for it are voiced through the continual use and handling of its collection.

This silence is only one part of a series of memory losses that have impacted the Warburg Library over the course of its history. The physical space of the library was just as essential to shaping a relation to the collection of books. Each physical move the library has been subjected to, along with each reshuffling of its collections, further removes it from the hand of its founder. Each move brings another variation on the form of the library that Warburg originated. Each successive shift of place changes the physical space and orientation of the books, and while the books may be arranged in a fashion similar to their previous arrangement, each new, varied arrangement changes an understanding of the books and their contents. These subsequent recreations fill in a new vision and understanding of the library employed by the number of librarians who sustain the collection. Yet, Warburg's intentions and goals for his research, his collection, and his ways of thinking live on through the activation of the library by the multitude

of ways that people use it and continue to engage with its discourse. The constant addition and re-shifting of books provides a lifeforce for the library, allowing Warburg's spirit to be symbolically re-embodied in the form of the library and its collection.

The series of moves that have been part of the Warburg's life have had an important and visible impact in the formulation of the library. The library's special layout was intended to make the user react to the time it took to get from one collection of books to another, some arranged in groupings placed in stacks across a single floor of the library and others separated and located on different floors of the library. This physical distance was intended to embody a physical thought space, or *Denkraum*, as Warburg termed it, which was metaphorically meant to represent the space between ideas and the channels of contemplation that connect these themes. So, while using the library, a user would have to pace the stacks looking for a book and pass by these multitudes of titles, and ideas which separated one concept from another. This physical space was also enacted through Warburg's use of the "Law of the Good Neighbor," since a book could be located in multiple places within the library, each book did not retain a permanent housing within the library, their resting place was never cemented permanently in one place.

The physical space was considered in tandem with the collection of the library. A prime example of this thought space enacted by Warburg is the reading room from his Library in 1926 which was intended to act as an "Arena" as Warburg called it.[16] In verbalizing the necessity of this space, Warburg explained: "I and my young assistants or research companions must use large tables on which to lay out the documents, i.e., the books and images, so that we can compare them, and these books and images must be easily and instantly within reach. I therefore need a veritable arena with tables, so that I can have at hand both the ordinary books and the iconographic material."[17] This mixture of sources and space, along with this presence of the

human element of its users created a site in which the collection of the library could be activated. With this in mind the whole collection and its physical placement within an architecture has to be taken into consideration when thinking about the Warburg Library and its legacy.

Each variation on the space of the library is modified and approximated in each physical move of the library. While the collection was always growing, each portion of the architecture of the library was recreated in each subsequent iteration of the library. So, the reading room, the stacks, the entrance to the library with “Mnemosyne” carved above the façade, all act as references to the original, as ways to pay homage and to again try to recreate this space in order to best facilitate this concept of a thought space. But it is hard to quantify not only the continuously shifting collection of books but also the impact that the changing architecture has had on our understanding of the collection.

Panel 79 of the *Mnemosyne Atlas*. 1924-1929. Warburg Institute

Chapter Two: Compiling an *Atlas*; Or Constructing the Apparatus

To understand Aby Warburg's *Mnemosyne Atlas*—both its terminology and its physicality—one must understand the context in which it was created.[18] The *Mnemosyne Atlas* breaks from the traditional form of a bound *Atlas* so as to be able to be positioned on the wall as

a series of panels onto which Warburg clipped his visuals. Each of these 150 x 200 cm panels covered in black cloth contained images and documents ranging from newspaper clippings, to press photographs, reproductions from art history, and a selection of documents pulled from books and elsewhere.[19] Whereas a scientific *Atlas* would be based in the laboratory or on the natural world, Warburg's *Atlas* was based in and on the library, utilizing both its collection of books and its extensive wealth of reproductions. While the library could and still does exist without Warburg's *Atlas*, the *Atlas* itself could not have developed without it.

Warburg's visual comparisons of works from the history of art and anthropology was based on his ability to photograph or locate the reproductions that informed his argument(s). This move towards photographic reproduction follows the same trajectory as the then contemporary view of art history, which was based in the visual, a distinct shift from the previous form of the study which was traditionally focused on textual description and connoisseurship. While connoisseurship requires an analysis of visual clues left by an artist in a work of art, it focuses heavily on the identification of who the artist was, rather than the iconographic content within the artwork. This transition to an art history based on something other than the authorship of a work, began to expand with Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768), whose work on Classicism offered a history of the Classical period and considered the emotional and aesthetic responses of a viewer beyond a purely visual, connoisseurship approach.[20] And by the time that Warburg was practicing Art History his research was based in a more wholistic picture of the time and conditions the work of art was made within. Warburg's ability to continue this process of expanding the viewpoint of art history depended on photography and photographic reproductions and relied on the use of these images to inform his argument. He also assumed that these images could facilitate their own visual dialogue, intending that their forms held enough

content to guide a viewer through an image and enough for that viewer to unpack what they were seeing in relation to the images around the one they were looking at.

I begin this chapter with these brief descriptions about the naming and scale of the *Atlas* because I want to build a framework in which to analyze the individual elements of this project. I am interested in the movement and use of the library as a source which was positioned and worked with on the wall by Warburg, and eventually after his death, turned back into a bound book form which again could exist within and outside of the library. To track these transitioning forms, I first conduct an image analysis of Panel 79 of the *Atlas*, which included a simultaneous presentation of art historical reproductions and contemporary press documents on the same plane. After this analysis, I go onto discuss the *Atlas* as a malleable form, looking to how it was presented by Warburg's contemporaries and the multitude of ways it is still being re-presented, whether through physical means or as a digital document.

A Foundation for Panel 79

We must begin by placing Panel 79 in context with the rest of the *Atlas*. This panel acts as the hypothetical "end" for the entire oeuvre of the *Atlas* and exemplifies some of the main points and contentions within its whole system. What makes this panel unique is Warburg's inclusion of a firsthand experience meditated through the context of the mass media and the press. This panel displays a mixture of different press photographs from the coverage of the signing of the Lateran Treaty, along with images familiar from—and frequently referenced in—earlier panels of the *Atlas*, these being reproductions from art history and documents culled from Warburg's Library. As I will show, the mixture of sources Warburg cited expanded the dialogue

across time and place, in effect creating a conversation that would be impossible if not for the orientation of images and ideas on the panel's surface.

The event Warburg was citing in Panel 79 occurred on February 11, 1929, when Pope Pius XI and Benito Mussolini signed the Lateran Treaty, an agreement which effectively settled the issue of the separation of church and state within Italy. This treaty was mostly an exchange of power, moving and renegotiating the realms that each entity could occupy or reign within. This document had a three-pronged responsibility: it acted as a political redistribution, establishing Vatican City and confining the central "ruling" domain of the Pope to an 109-acre country.[21] It then also established a financial exchange between Italy and the Catholic Church, wherein the Vatican received annual compensation from the Italian government, along with a religious concordant, which established Catholicism as the state religion of Italy.[22] This new agreement gave birth to Vatican City and effectively empowered both Italy and the Catholic Church on the world stage, as their co-recognition of one another elevated their stations in the eyes of the world. The effects of this exchange of power can still be felt today, and it permanently altered the positions of each government. Later, it would also have major ramifications for the breakdown of states and Mussolini's rise to power at the head of the Italian government.

Warburg was present in Rome at the time of the signing, and its importance to him can be felt through both his inclusion of images of it in the *Atlas* and from first-hand accounts of his reaction. Warburg's biographer, E.H. Gombrich recalls: "Warburg was in St. Peter's Square when the Pope blessed the crowd after this act of renunciation, which he interpreted as a turning point in history. The contrast between the crude symbols of power displayed by the Fascists and the withdraw of the Pope to the confines of a merely symbolic domain became for him another link in the long chain of mankind's road towards enlightenment."[23] The exchange of symbolic

domains and what Warburg interpreted as the "re-paganization" of Rome exemplified a confluence of history, the power of the church and government, and contemporary culture which represented the essence of Warburg's work.[24] His exploration of symbols, both physical and metaphoric, was embodied in this new relationship developed between church and state. With the rule of the church confined to a small physical state, the potency of previous, pagan symbols in Rome and elsewhere were allowed to revive and be reembodied within new contexts, restoring a form of their former authority.

What makes Warburg's connections between art history and the signing of the Lateran Treaty so interesting is the physical citing of the event within such a historically and artistically charged space: St. Peter's Basilica and Vatican City. The visual and conceptual connections between these sites made by Warburg allowed for an easy activation of images and themes, in a way, actualizing Warburg's study and research through their presentation on the panel. For the purpose of this study I will approach the panel through hierarchical scale. I begin with the largest image and work my way around the space of the panel. Since there is no set way to visually dissect the panel, I plan to base my interpretive sequence on the visual and conceptual connections that guide my reading of the overall composition. It is important to remember that these images pinned to the panels are reproductions, rather than the original works of art or photographs. While this might be an obvious observation, the images' existence as reproductions was important for Warburg. However, as reproductions, they acted as stand ins for the originals. And so, it is important to consider both their legibility as reproductions and as artworks within a shared space.

Panel 79 Considered

I begin with the largest reproduction on the panel: Raphael's *The Mass at Bolsena*, occupying the center left of the panel. The original fresco was painted between 1512 and 1514 and was part of the series of other frescos done by the artist within the Papal Apartments in Vatican City. The scene depicts the fabled Mass at Bolsena, a miraculous religious event that is said to have taken place in 1263. During mass, as the consecration of the blood and wine was performed, the Eucharist began to bleed, making all those present believe that Jesus had actually *embodied* the Eucharist, recounting his sacrifice. This event allowed for a physical representation of Christ to be recorded: the stained corporal, the Corpus Christ, a relic now on display in the Cathedral of Orvieto in Italy.[25]

It is important to note the transformation of this colored fresco into the black and white reproduction attached to Panel 79. The bleeding Eucharist, as composed by Raphael, appears in the center of the composition, held by the priest who is performing this transubstantiation, the metaphorical transformation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. The work is a composite of different events and time periods combined into this single composition. The event is brought into the contemporary moment of its commissioning through Raphael's inclusion of Pope Julius II, the Pope who commissioned the work, and a number of his cardinals and Swiss guards who are all witnessing this divine act. The conflation of different spaces and times allows for a smudging of details and acts as a legitimizing agent for the Pope since it makes him a direct witness to these divine events. Raphael seems to underscore this illusion through a compositional split based on the axis of the Eucharist, with the left side of the fresco seeming to represent the event as it happened in 1263, and the right side depicting the event taking place in the present, presenting the Pope with his entourage, calmly witnessing this miraculous event.

It is important to consider the role and representation of the Pope within this holy space. In my opinion, the takeaway from this image is the discussion and representation of power in the fresco. As shown, the power of the Pope, while actual, is secondary in this image and is based on this relationship and proximity to the divine. The representation of power in this complex visual conflation of time and place in the depiction of a single event provides a context for viewing other images pinned on the panel.

From this larger reproduction I am drawn visually down to a reproduction of Giotto's *Hope*. This figure of *Hope*, painted in 1306 and located in the Scrovegni (Arena) Chapel in Padua, Italy, is visually similar to the female figure at the bottom of Raphael's *Mass at Bolsena.* In the reproduction of *Hope,* the angel seems to float up to reach a small crown supported by another, much smaller angel, who appears in the upper right corner of the composition. Much like the reproduction above it, Giotto's *Hope* is but a fragment of a much larger pictorial program within a space. This angel is part of Giotto's representation of the seven virtues which populate the lower register of the Arena Chapel. On the wall of the Chapel, it is in conversation with its counterpart, *Despair*, located across the nave of the church. This reproduction of the Giotto is surrounded by a large white border, most likely a sign of its original placement as a reproduction in a book. This border seems to glow or radiate like a halo around the image. And because of its original placement within a book, it includes an image citation printed on the page, a detail that is usually absent from Warburg's *Atlas*. The placement of the reproduction also breaks the hard edge of the panel, pinned so that the page partially extends beyond the panel's edge.

Overlapping this reproduction of *Hope* is another reproduction of a portion of a painting, Sandro Botticelli's *The Last Communion of Saint Jerome* painted in the early 1490s. Although

this image is significantly cropped, which removes the other contextual information that would come with viewing the entire painting, this cropping calls attention to a particular portion of the painting and allows it to interact more fully with Giotto's angel of *Hope*. Visually, although on a very different scale, the angel of *Hope* seems to be flying in to place the crown on the forehead of Saint Jerome in the Botticelli painting. This visual assemblage is possible because the images are literally pinned together and overlap each other's borders. In the reproduction of the Botticelli painting, we see a cross-section of a non-descript house and setting, a humble dwelling with minimal furnishings. The creation of a devotional space is signaled not only through the figures who we can mostly identify, but also through the objects that populate the space; the crucifix sitting on the mantle, the palm fronds, and the Eucharist being presented to Saint Jerome. The Eucharist in this scene seems to be an act of the physical ingestion of faith, and the last communion given by Saint Eusebius to a dying Saint Jerome who has to be held up by other believers. As in the Raphael fresco, the Eucharist is a major visual and compositional element.

Again, to guide my eye, I look to the images that are physically touching this reproduction of the Botticelli painting; it is positioned beside two images that record the events surrounding the signing of the Lateran Treaty. These images show various stages of the event and capture canopy structures constructed in two different places, one within the church of St. Peters and the other outside it in St. Peter's Square. The two photographs are arranged to create a diptych, with one serving as a zoomed in version of the other, save for their differing locations. In one, the canopy has been constructed at the foot of Bernini's *Cathedra Petri,* the large-scale reliquary found in the nave of St. Peters Cathedral, and in the other, the canopy is located at the foot of the Cathedral's facade. The photographic diptych is only a small selection of the images Warburg collected from the signing of the Lateran Treaty. And while these images are the

primary ones I will discuss in my analysis of the panel, I want to quickly move to a series of images that I feel directly respond to this diptych and then return to these photographs.

In this diptych, the lower image depicts the space at the base of Bernini's *Cathedra Petri*. This is evident because of the small fragment of the support structure of the architectural sculpture, modeled to represent a grouping of the church fathers who support *the Chair of St. Peters* and therefore the nave of the church, is visible. In the top left corner of the panel, Warburg has pinned three photographs which are related to this image because of their sighting. These images all theoretically depict the same thing but show it in two distinct ways. The two images on the left and center of this triptych depict a chair at two different angles. The third image is a reproduction of Bernini's *Cathedra Petri*, this chair's "container." The chair is *The Chair of St. Peters*, a wooden relic which the Catholic faith believes to be the throne of the Apostle Peter, the first Pope.[26] Both the chair and its representation are direct links for Catholics to the original site and seat of power for the Papacy. It acts as a representation of the power of the church and the Popes themselves, embodying their divine position as mediators between God and Man.[27] This chair is not only a physical object but a representation of the theoretical transference of authority from one Pope to another, signifying not a person but a position.

The placement of these photographs directly above the Raphael reproduction and above the images documenting the events surrounding the Lateran Treaty, provides a double representation of *The Chair of St. Peters* and the theology that surrounds it. It is both a depiction of the religious belief system and the creation of a context within which to consider the rest of the images pinned to the panel. The collaboration and presentation of images expands beyond a purely art historical approach towards these images and forces a viewer to consider the ideas which connect all of these visuals. This is exemplified in the multiple representations of

Bernini's work, which suggests both an art historical interpretation of these physical artworks as well the religious/ political context which surrounds them. I consider this repetition of three images depicting the same thing as a form of emphasis. Warburg uses repetition in multiple formats to call attention to and consider the chair and its representation in the variety of images which surround it. In emphasizing the chair and its reliquary, Warburg centers his argument and discussion on this specific site, contextualizing both the seat of power of the papacy and the religious implication of these images. With this background, Warburg could then present contemporary images of the same space, and begin to consider their political/ social/ religious implications by speaking through a history of art. The Chair and its various illustrated representations throughout the panel contextualize Warburg's argument overall, pointing to power by acknowledging this transference of it and considering the shifting balance of influence that was put in place with the signing of the Lateran Treaty.

Now, circling back to the photographs which display the pomp and circumstance of the events surrounding the Lateran Treaty, I want to consider the wealth of other journalistic images pinned to the panel. These images mostly display other processions that took place in tandem with the signing in the square of St. Peter's, including displays of military pageantry by the Swiss guard and a parading of the Pope through the crowds in St. Peter's Square. With these images as context, Warburg pinned up a page from Camillo Viviani's book *The Papal Army in Full Uniform,* published in 1918, in which Viviani discusses the Swiss Guard's typical processional techniques and modes of movement.[28] Warburg chose an illustrated page depicting a horse-drawn carriage with members of the Papal army riding on horseback framed by explanatory text above and below it. I believe Warburg meant to employ the image as an actualization of the surrounding text and photographs. In relation to its text and other images on

the panel, the image becomes an extension of the conversation concerning the pomp and circumstance of such events and their implications, both in the past and in Warburg's contemporary moment.

Photographs like those recording the signing of the Lateran Treaty found on Panel 79 are similarly recorded in the newspapers pinned to the panel. On the right side of the panel there are four separate newspapers which Warburg has cut or torn out sections and pinned to the panel. The two large newspapers clipped in the middle of the four included directly deal with the Lateran Treaty. These are two large newspaper clippings from the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* which contain a variety of images and captions all displayed on the same page.[29] While they are from the same paper, these two clipping are separated by a day. As an illustrated supplement to the newspaper, the contents contained on the paper range in topic. The upper newspaper of these two middle newspapers not only displays an image of the Pope processing through St. Peter's Square, like the ones found pinned to panel, but it also includes a cacophony of images that are unrelated to this topic, including images of golfers, a swimmer, and horseback riders. The document records a disregard for the Pope's symbolic and actual power by including an image which overlaps the image of the Pope. But the inclusion of all of the images which surrounds this image of the Pope reflects their importance to Warburg as a whole document, since Warburg did not crop them out and only retain the image of the Pope. This collage of images particularly interested Warburg because it, as Gombrich recalls in his biography: "shocked his susceptibilities by the jumble of images…" and, "to make matters worse the typographer, needing space for the photograph of a swimming champion, had cut into the picture of the sacred ceremony, thus demonstrating the indifference to the hierarchy of values which even an agnostic should respect."[30] Another important aspect of this clipping is the fact that it is the only one

reproduced as a photograph on the panel. Its contents were so important that Warburg photographed and then reproduced them in their entirety. This document of contemporary mass media displays the mix of priorities found in this society. In a larger sense the clipping records this play of power structures and the jostling of priorities during this time period.

When thinking about why these priorities were the way that they were, the argument could be made that since *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* was intended for a German, rather than an Italian audience, the events depicted were considered just a collection of images of daily events. Yet, one would expect that the Pope's power should theoretically have a much larger importance than a champion swimmer. This can be assumed because of the Pope's prominence as this international figurehead of the Catholic Church and because of his leadership of this recently established country. Therefore, his celebrity should go beyond the momentary popularity of this newly championed swimmer who overlaps his image. These different priorities are again reflected in the clipping pinned below the one already discussed. While the text is illegible from this excerpt from the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* published on the following day, an image of priests walking alongside businessmen is visible.[31] Again, because of the inclusion of other images around this central one of the priests and businessmen, this wealth of dissimilar images provide an eclectic context for this central image. The main image is again overlapped by an image that is indiscernible in the reproduction. But around this central image, a mix of other dissimilar images of men and women can be seen along with an image of a city viewed from the sea. Because of the poor quality of the overall image of this clipping, the captions are indiscernible. The inclusion of the physical newspaper along with a photographic reproduction of another edition of it records a preoccupation which Warburg has been questioning all along; how

symbols act outside their original context as reproductions and how they are dealt with in broader media contexts.

Moving to the other newspapers pinned to the panel, the uppermost clipping concerns the Locarno Treaty, evident because of its headline which states: "Gustav Stresemann (German foreign minister of the Weimar Republic) signs the final protocol of the Locarno Treaty," coupled with an image of this signing.[32] The Locarno Treaty was an earlier agreement made in 1925 among Germany, France, Belgium, Great Britain, and Italy which mutually promised peace, aiming to correct some of the ongoing issues not originally solved by the Treaty of Versailles after WWI.[33] The inclusion of this clipping is important because it is a historical reference point for Warburg to cite as a precursor for the Lateran Treaty. Its inclusion by Warburg signals this ongoing tracking of political power, and how its manifestation shifts and transforms with each of the events pinned to the panel.

Another newspaper clipping from the *Hamburger Mittags-Blatt* pinned below all of these newspapers covers a train wreck that occurred in Düren and an image of this same event, in which a victim receives the last rites of the Catholic Church from a priest.[34] We can decipher this information based on both the large headline of the newspaper and the image with its caption. The image is visually and conceptually similar to Botticelli's *Last Communion of Saint Jerome*, and Warburg seems to place this image on the panel to facilitate a conversation about the presentation and consumption of the Eucharist, as well as to reference the power of belief in a higher power after death. Because the newspaper is so dissimilar in its contents to the rest of the newspapers included on the panel, it has to be seen in context with the Botticelli reproduction. While the two images are from two very different settings, one a personal devotional device commissioned at the hands of an artist, and the other a mass-produced image captured by a press

photographer of this horrific event, their contents are similar and share parallel narratives as well as parallel positioning on the panel. The image from the newspaper and the Botticelli painting share the same visual motif—the giving of the last rites—so even though they are separated by time, space, and intended audience, their presentation together presents a conceptual actualization of the thing depicted. The image and its painted parallel can be read in context with other depictions of the Catholic Church and its practices and react visually to the other variations on this theme contained on the panel.

There are then just some smaller images on Panel 79 that I have yet to consider. At the bottom of the panel, below the six press images, there are two small woodcuts which seem to have been removed from books. The one on the bottom left of the panel is a print from 1492 which shows a group of Jews desecrating the host, a form of sacrilege in which the consecrated body of Christ, the Eucharist, is defiled. It is a negative image, one traditionally associated with anti-Semitism, in which Jews were shown committing a grave sin against Christians. The image on the bottom right of the panel shares a similar theme. In this print Jews are shown pricking the Eucharist and then burning it by dropping it into a fire. The presence of these images within the context of this panel has been discussed at length by Charlotte Schoell-Glass in her book *Aby Warburg and Anti-Semitism*. She stipulates that, although anti-Semitism and its images was not a topic Warburg studied intensely, the topic does make an appearance in the context of this panel.[35] The inclusion of these prints documents an interest in the use and display of this subject as part of a longer lineage of anti-Semitism and signals Warburg's awareness of the contemporary moment, and the rise of anti-Semitism in Germany during Warburg's lifetime.

Warburg continues his study of belief and ritual through the inclusion of images of Japanese ritual sacrifice and corporal punishment. He chooses an image of a Hara-kiri ceremony,

a ritualistic suicide committed either voluntarily or as capital punishment, made prevalent by samurai.[36] Next to this image, Warburg pinned an illustration from Philipp Franz von Siebold's *Nippon,* an in-depth archive of Japanese culture and practices. This illustration depicts a series of detached arms arranged on a small sheet. These two examples of ritualistic practices can be seen in conversation with the larger Catholic procession through St. Peter's Square or in relation to the desecration of the Host. This juxtaposition of dissimilar images can be read throughout the panel and the *Atlas* as a whole. These moments, when images are juxtaposed next to one another, are when the panels move from acting as strictly formalized presentations from art history to moments when meaning is created. And though these themes are separated by very different cultural contexts, their meaning and message in terms of the panel speaks in tandem with the rest of the images pinned on the panel.

Collectively, Panel 79 reads as an image of power represented through various means and iterations. The central idea is this physical representation of supremacy through the Catholic church, but this concept quickly disseminates into a constellated display of means of power, belief, and ritual. Through their collective display, Warburg seems to be considering how authority taken up, is employed, and performed. He also seems to be exploring the transference of power within the church and government. Through his focus on contemporary examples Warburg's study gains relevance and demonstrates how the revival of antiquity and past powers can be mobilized in the present.

Photographing the *Atlas*

How does one work with images? Warburg's *Atlas* deals with a multitude of images. There are both the images and reproductions pinned to the panels as well as the photographs of

these panels which are now the images discussed when speaking about the *Atlas*. Let's begin with the images pinned to the panels. These sources range from journalistic photographs to reproductions of art historical works and one has to consider the differences among these images. Journalistic images, like those included in the newspapers pinned to Panel 79, or those capturing the events of the signing of the Lateran Treaty, are meant to record rather than fabricate an image. These images set the scene, providing a factual interpretation of an event and in a way are evidence or proof that an event occurred. With these, one has to be aware of the photographer's limitations - what were they able to shoot, at what angle, in what position, who they could photograph; these variables are all central to reading these images. An artist's role in creating images and their intentions are different. Artists are not confined to illustrating facts; they compose an image through the play of color and form, through light and dark, and consider the way that the work will be seen. Though with the artist, one has to consider if the artist was commissioned to make the work and what conditions these contracts would impose. I bring up this distinction between journalistic and artistic images to think about the way that they are interpreted alone and in tandem with the other images pinned to the panels.

In a twist of photographic translation, all of the sources Warburg cites become photographic images in the *Atlas*. This leveling through photographic reproduction allows Warburg to consider everything in his collection as photographs rather than works of art. The ability to render these images equivalent allowed Warburg the distance he needed to "truly" look at and dissect these arrangements. In this way he was dealing with a *representation* of the object he was citing rather than working with the *actual* object. In the study of art history, after the invention of photography, photographs became a stand in for the actual thing, "…act(ing)" according to Molly Kalkstein, "as transparent surrogates, giving viewers a sense of interacting

directly with original works of art."[37] The photographic surface becomes like a chameleon in the way it can be morphed. The photograph documents the detail, the specificity of the object while reducing this specific surface - the fresco, the painted canvas, carved stone - to a layer of silver, reacting with its grain. The original materiality of the artworks is replaced with a newer, shiny surface, a new materiality to work with. The reflective quality is backed up with this black and white equalizing, a uniformity in which reproduced color doesn't get in the way, or corrupt one's viewing. The reproductions Warburg used, notes Kalkstein, differed "…not only in size and tonality, but also in legibility…. Their portability and manipulability were crucial to Warburg's methodology, but they also produced an essential distance between the scholar and the work, and it was in this gap that Warburg could carry out his analytical project."[38] The gap, the space between the *actual* object and its *representation* allowed for a metaphorical space to work within.

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, Warburg worked in a series of stages with his *Atlas*, which are documented in the photographs he ordered to record the different iterations of the panels. These panels were working documents, ways to track the physical movement and array of images at any given time, and a way to track the system. Viewers of these photographic reproductions now look at photographs of photographs arranged on a surface. Phillippe-Alain Michaud sees a two-fold reimagining of the images presented on the panels. Not only are the variety of sources Warburg was citing "unified through photography before being arranged on the panel," they then go through another process of amalgamation in which "the panel is in turn photographed in order to create a unique image."[39] This unique image is then the image that lives on, becoming the one endlessly reproduced and circulated in books and, in the

future, online. This now "leveled" image carries the weight of the reading, all of the panels take on the same aesthetic, same standard lighting, same viewpoint, and the image becomes the panel.

Though the purpose of these images is the documentation of the panels themselves, there is a context to consider in the photographs. The panels were documented in the circular reading room of the library, and whether out of sheer necessity or because of their placement within the space, this presence of the library is essential contextual information within which to view these photographs.[40] Though the images aren't spectacular, they display this essential context of the library as a guiding force behind the panels, and the books reside on the periphery of the images. This decision, whether conscious or not, alludes to the actuality of the space and encourages one to consider the context within which these images were taken. This inclusion of the library, even as a limited presence visible only around the edge of the images, also suggests the physical space surrounding the images, a quality of air between the panel and the camera. The panels are therefore not just flat panels, they become a plane within a surrounding context, one that alludes to the actuality of what someone in this space would have seen. And their lack of a distinct cropping, of a uniform lighting system, or our lack of a clear ability to read each image alludes to this context as a personal, in-process working document.

Warburg sought distance when working with the *Atlas*. In the opening draft of his introduction to the *Atlas* he states: "The conscious creation of distance between the self and the external world may be called the fundamental act of civilization. Where this gap conditions artistic creativity, this awareness of distance can achieve a lasting social function."[41] The distance of images, of history, of narratives from their original context, with time, also allows for a renewed approach towards the thing one looks at. Warburg sought a distance that was created through the processing of the images through photographic means. Distance does not mean that

Warburg couldn't get close to these images, but that through their reproduction Warburg could get even closer to their content through their reproduced form.

We, as contemporary viewers, have a type of distance when looking at Warburg's work. And though this distance is different from the distance Warburg yearned for, it is a variation on this distance that Warburg wanted for himself. We see these reproductions through printed or digital reproductions which breaks the image into a CMYK print structure or into a series of pixels and code. With this new format, there is a greater circulation of the images but an even greater separation from the original photograph and from the original work of art depicted in many of these images. This separation isn't negative; it just has to be considered. So, though we are separated from the original versions of the *Atlas*, the photographs and their new means of reproduction allow us both a distanced *and* a closer view of and variation on the original thing Warburg constructed.

Binding/Containing the *Atlas*

Warburg used and intended to use the *Atlas* in a variety of ways. From written sources it is clear that Warburg intended for the *Atlas* to be compiled into a bound book, which would reflect the content displayed on the panels along with a textual volume which would fortify and explain the contents of the panels.[42] But Warburg also used the panels as they were. Warburg sometimes presented them as diagrammatic tools during his lectures, retaining the panels in their large-scale format and using them as visual aids rather than projected slides.[43] These two malleable forms allowed for a variety of interactions with the panels and reflected the continued and evolving use of the device during Warburg's lifetime. These two means of using or

displaying the *Atlas* are only two of the many forms the *Atlas* has taken since its formulation in 1926 and since the death of Warburg.

Let's begin with the inherent limitations of both iterations that Warburg first proposed. First, while the panels are good for up-close exchange and discussion, their contents must have been unintelligible at a distance during a lecture. The minuscule reproductions found on some of the panels or the inclusion of whole sheets of text would have become a blurry mess of illegible content. The multitude of meaning that comes with the panels was created by the play of images off one another, and at a distance these interactions fall into an array of black and white forms, which are too indeterminate to elicit meaning. Even within Warburg's lectures, the panels would have been hard to activate when their content was so unclear.

The book format though would have potentially allowed for a better, if not inherently different, interaction with the *Atlas*, and the earliest example of this can be seen in a bound format made by Warburg's fellows, Gertrud Bing and Fritz Saxl. This object, termed the *Gesburtstagsatlas* (Birthday Atlas), was a pseudo-atlas created for Warburg's brother, Max, in honor of his birthday in 1937.[44] This book, though it contained the vast majority of the reproductions Warburg included in the original panels, removed many of the elements of the panels that made Warburg's approach unique. In this approximation, Bing and Saxl removed the varieties of scale, equalizing all of the images into a uniform size while also migrating the images from a black background onto a white background. In addition, they removed all mass media items. These few changes were enough to bring about an entirely different version of the project Warburg was working towards and create one of the first acts of scholarly interpretation of the project.

This book, though a step removed from the hand of Warburg, is important because it expresses how Warburg's contemporaries saw the *Atlas* and its intentions. The elimination of many elements unique to the *Atlas* calls into question what was intended and what was just a fact of this transitional process. The varieties of scale found in the original could be due to Warburg's pulling of the images from the image collection, which was not centered around a uniform scale or ratio. Though, Warburg had the opportunity to order many of the reproductions for the *Atlas*, and this variety of scale brings about a play of emphasis, creating inherent hierarchies in which to visually move through the panels whether intended or not. Within the context of the pseudo-atlas the images are all presented at the same scale, lined up in a gridded fashion, removing the jumbled assortment of images that were present on the panels. Therefore, the elimination of varied scales and hierarchies by Warburg's fellows effectively altered some of the original conditions which facilitated the *Atlas'* creation.

The elimination of many elements' silences some of the ways that Warburg worked, removing a measure of the specificity that Warburg aimed for with the project. The removal of clippings from the mass media that Warburg included is another step away from Warburg's vision of the *Atlas*. While I could see the argument that the inclusion of elements from the mass media was only part of the working progress, I don't feel that this would have been an accurate representation of the way Warburg was utilizing the images as part of his overall argument. I see Warburg's use of the newspaper and its clippings as a way to visually play off the everyday in context with a history of art and images. Many of the panels play with this visual repetition of forms, bouncing images off of one another as a means to make meaning. And this play of visual repetition can be seen in Warburg's tracking of the figure "Nympha," for example, which he saw as the embodiment of pagan forces within the body of a young woman, frozen in a pose but only

just so, as her garments fly around her, expressing a visual movement that is not present in the figure herself. This image is important because Warburg also found Nymphas in the clippings he included within the panels. He was able to pin down this representation within the context of the *Atlas* and the array of images that surround the clippings. He used them as a visual source to compare, to prove that he had pinned down the figure that had been embodied over and over again throughout 2,000 years of art history. Without the inclusion of these newspaper clippings and other images from the press, Warburg's *Atlas* would only be about a history of art, a one note representation of this history that doesn't take into context the contemporary day or other types of images. It doesn't represent Warburg's conscious effort to consider the contemporary climate and the way the *Atlas* was used by Warburg to think about his time. And the inclusion of these outside, non-art historical sources was essential to the longevity of this study; it effectively made Warburg's work relevant then and ongoing.

More recent, or historical representations of the *Atlas* consist of Warburg's photographs of the panels as a way to keep in line with the original. These versions I reference mainly present Warburg's documentary reproductions in a bound format, typically adding in a mirroring spread in which the details of each image are cited. These iterations differ from the *Gesburtstagsatlas* in that the contents were arranged by Warburg and represent the documents Warburg was working with. They have not been processed and/ or changed as was done in the version made by Warburg's contemporaries. Though these documentary photographs of the panels were obviously not the final product or intended version of Warburg's *Atlas*, they are slightly closer to Warburg's intended result for the entire object. Even with these approximated versions, which display Warburg's reproductions, there is this blurring that occurs when viewing the images. And though the images are clearly specific, either from our knowledge of Warburg's selection

process, or by the fact that each image is cited in a map next to the panel itself, their contents are sometimes difficult to make out.

The most helpful or accessible book approximation I have used for this study is volume 11.1 of Aby Warburg's *Gesammelte Schriften*. This book, published as part of the larger aim to publicize Warburg's work, contains the full sequence of Warburg's documentation of the *Atlas* from his final round of photographs taken in October of 1929. As a book, it signals to the *Atlas'* full potential but still is not the thing that Warburg intended. It simply displays the reproductions that Warburg ordered in their progression with the visuals cited in the pages that accompany the reproduction on the spread. This pairing of the images and their mapping records each numbered image included on the panel and acts as a tool for comprehending what some of these reproductions actually are. It is a good response though to the challenges that face those who intend to recreate or imagine the *Atlas* as Warburg intended. It keeps the *Atlas* visually in the physical space of the library and does not interfere with the images as documentations of a working process. Its biggest deficient is the fact that it only includes Warburg's 'final' round of documentation. It doesn't allow for a wider perspective on Warburg's working method, nor does it allow for a tracking of the whole series of panels over the course of the multiple rounds of documentation. Their inclusion in the larger discussion surrounding the sequences of documentation, would provide a much deeper understanding of Warburg's project, a way of seeing this document in progress.

This idea of how best to present the *Atlas* in a book form has been one I have thought about since the beginning of this project. One form I propose would be the presentation of removable slides contained in pockets assembled in Warburg's arrangement on the page. While the panels would still be bound in a book format, the slides would rest in place of the original

images. While the page would still retain the original black background and specificity of each image, the work could be activated by the projection of each image through a slide projector. Going further, I could see the use of a multi-image slide projector, in which you could compare two projected images side by side. These means could allow for some activation of Warburg's panels, and potentially solve a problem Warburg faced in his lectures which utilized the panels. I think the part by part breakdown of these panels, combing through its images and pondering connections through the use of side by side comparison could provide a clarity that is lost through Warburg's original documentary photographs.

There is a third version of Warburg's *Atlas* that Warburg never could have intended but which fulfills an array of its needs. I want to consider the online presentation of Warburg's Panels as another interpretation of Warburg's work. There are a variety of sites that record Warburg's images, either in-part or in-whole, and a semi-full range of Warburg's panels can be found online at the Warburg Library's website. Yet again, this collection is only representative of the last two stages of Warburg's documentation, one from August 1928, and the second from October 1929. While the website does include these two versions, the session from August 1928 is only representative of the first 43 panels, while the other includes the full range of images from the later October 1929 session.[i] This online source, though plentiful in its presentation of the images, does not contextualize the works or show any documented study of the images contained within the panels; it is simply a means to display the photographic reproductions.

The activation of the panels and their contents is most successful in Cornell University's digitized approach to the final round of documentation from October 1929.[45] This dedicated site gives visitors a wealth of information in which to approach the *Atlas* with. The website not only

[i] There are only 43 represented, according to the website, because of technical difficulties.

allows for a visual display of the panels but activates their content. In addition to the panels, the site provides a way to access the *Mnemosyne Atlas* as a whole entity.[ii] Each panel represented on the site includes a synopsis addressing its contents, along with a series of mappings within the structure of each panel which allow a user to follow along with predetermined paths through each work, as a way to try to account for the multitude of different readings within each panel. While the biggest disappointment of this site is the fact that it does not display the entire *Atlas*, its scholarship on a few of the panels allows a way to enter or approach the rest of the *Mnemosyne Atlas*, even if it isn't shown in its entirety.

I like to think of this site as another form of what could have been if Warburg would have been active in a different time. These sites, and their analysis of the reproductions, allow an approximate version of what could have been. In a way they act as a digital proxy, which takes on and furthers the idea of the *Atlas* as a published object. This iteration allows for the creation of another type of interaction with its contents and is in a way truer to Warburg's own ideas about the display of this object. The ability to zoom in on contents and to link to detailed parts of the internet which provide context for the images, is a mode of display which allows for a greater sense of clarity of its contents. So, though it is not a form that Warburg could have envisioned, it expands the potential of Warburg's *Atlas* to a modern viewer. It approximates a version of what it could have been like to look at the *Atlas* within the space of the library, but in this case, the internet becomes the resource that the library would have provided, or acts as a form of narrator, explaining and expanding upon what is included in the panels.

[ii] There is an about page with a well written approach to the entire structure of both the *Atlas* and this online form of it. Each panel included in the site, (There are only ten total recorded on this site), provides an interactive guide to their contents by a variety of scholars.

Dismantling the *Atlas*/Attempting to Regain Order

The panels of the *Mnemosyne Atlas* were disassembled before their move with the Warburg Library to London. The images were unclipped, the black panels discarded, and the reproductions returned to their housing within the image collection of the library. In a way, the library to this day still contains the pieces that once made up the *Atlas*, only they were just reoriented within the categorical strata of the library. Marks from the clips on the reproductions and the physical clips themselves used to adhere images to the panels, can still be found in the collection of the library's archive. These tangible marks act as signals of the once built assemblage of images, now apart from their arrangement on the panels of the *Atlas* but concrete reminders of the form that together they once took. It seems as if signs of contact with the original *Atlas*, like that of an indention on an image caused by a clip, makes that image into a relic. As if these images were made holy by their contact and handling by Warburg in the original *Atlas*. This aura is something scholars constantly seem to be searching for when trying to recreate or work with "the original." The images that were once clipped to the panels act as tangible signposts towards what once was.

Though the pieces of the puzzle are still present in the library, any attempt to reassemble the object that once was begins to disregard the object's history. I am specifically referring to exhibitions which aim to recreate the structure of the *Atlas,* and in doing so "bring it back to life." An example of this is the forthcoming exhibition and publication of "Aby Warburg: Bilderatlas Mnemosyne – The Original," from the Haus der Kulturen der Welt, in Berlin curated by art historian Roberto Ohrt and artist Axel Heil. The exhibition description states:

> In the 1920s, the historian of art and culture Aby Warburg (1866-1929) created his so-called *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* tracing recurring visual themes and patterns across time,

> from antiquity to the Renaissance and beyond to contemporary culture. His approach provides inspiration for today's visually and digitally dominated world. At HKW all 63 panels of the *Atlas* will be *recovered* for the first time from Warburg's original images…
>
> The exhibition at HKW restores the last documented version of the 1929 *Atlas* almost completely with the original illustrations. In collaboration with the Warburg Institute in London, the curators Roberto Ohrt and Axel Heil have located most of the 971 illustrations from the 400,000 objects in the Institute's Photo Collection and Library to show Warburg's unfinished magnum opus in its entirety for the first time since his death.
>
> A folio volume gathers the 63 plates of Warburg's *Atlas*–newly photographed from the original, multi-colored images, along with essays by Axel Heil, Roberto Ohrt, Bernd Scherer, Bill Sherman and Claudia Wedepohl. It will be published for the exhibition opening by Hatje Cantz. Another volume with extensive commentaries by the curators will be published in Fall 2020, also by Hatje Cantz.[46]

While the idea of recreating this object is interesting, this act of recreation brings about an entirely new entity, separate from the thing that Warburg worked on during his lifetime. I worry about the effect that this recreation will have on the representation of the object, especially in the use of the term "recovering" in the exhibition description. The curators are "recovering" something that isn't lost, we know the form of the *Atlas* as it existed during Warburg's lifetime. So, is this exhibition about recovering this version of an original, or is it about this recreation effectively becoming *the Atlas*? In this case, an "original" overriding *the original*.

I wonder about the impetus for this revived interpretation, as it hints at a belief that there is a *need* for a reconstruction. As I have discussed in this chapter, this attempt to redisplay the

Atlas, along with its recreation in a book format is part of a long lineage of attempts to recreate or publish the *Atlas*. What I find so disturbing about this iteration, in terms of the previous attempts to display Warburg's work, is that those displays used Warburg's own images of the *Atlas*, they didn't go about recreating these images for their own use. Specifically, my concern is expressed in this preview text promoting the forthcoming publication:

> Since Gombrich was tasked with its recreation in 1937, several scholars have attempted editions of the *Atlas*, all using Warburg's *indistinct, nearly illegible photographs*. Now, for this major publishing event, Roberto Ohrt and Axel Heil have done what long seemed impossible, searching the 400,000 images in the archives of the Warburg Institute, identifying those from the *Atlas* and reconstructing Warburg's panels, *rendering the Atlas visually accessible to the world for the first time*.[47] (Italics my own).

The presumption that the *Atlas* as an art historical project has been "inaccessible" since the destruction of the panels is a bit inaccurate and lessens the importance of the reproductions ordered by Warburg as a sight of research. The panels have been legible and have effectively been used over the course of the past century to respond to Warburg's *Atlas* by art historians. These conditions concerning the *legibility* of the panels in their form as images seems as if the need for this representation is defined by modern ideas of clarity and viewership. Reproducing the images in a catalogue again at the same scale but with color does not change their legibility. These changes alter the material and substantial make-up of the *Atlas* and its representation.

This exhibition is part of the continued effort to "remake" or "re-present" the *Atlas* at its original scale with its original contents, and to "finish" the work that Warburg began. But any intention to "finish" a work that Warburg himself couldn't conclude corrupts this image of Warburg's scholarship. In this exhibition, the recreated panels are now seen in both black and

white and in color. The panels will also most likely appear against a white gallery wall, removing the context of the library in which they were created and documented. Exhibitions like this, which aim to make the contents tangible, are admirable, but how truthful or respectful of the original are they? Presenting the *Atlas* as this precious artwork removes the actuality of its proportions and its contents. To present them in this way excludes the context that they were works in progress and not artworks at all.

I will again invoke Warburg's own need for distance. We, as contemporary viewers need to acknowledge the distance of time and space when considering Warburg's *Atlas*. These images reside in the past and as such it is much more beneficial to look at these panels as they were documented in the 1920s rather than look at recreated versions of the panels processed through a modern hand. This sort of recreation evokes a Frankenstein-like version of the panels and is done to accommodate a modern audience. It makes reading the panels too easy, too accessible, and removes the material history from these objects. I understand the need for a tactile connection, to *see* the original, to feel its aura, but why this sublimation of its history? To present these as *the Atlas*, is to try to override the original work of Warburg. In the same way that cropping in on the original images removes the library from view, the same could be said about the revived presentation of the *Atlas*. In the way that that presentation signals a more finalized document, the pristine recreation of the *Atlas* would override a viewer's image of these panels. The presentation of the panels in this way makes the contemporary version *become* the version of the *Atlas*, falsely completing Warburg's study. We must look to the past and make something new from it rather than recite something that has already been enacted. As I will show in Chapter Three, this creation of a new thing from a storied object is what I attempt to do in my artwork and this method of approaching the work is the only ethical way to move in response to the work.

Contemporary projects which pay homage to the *Atlas* are much more beneficial in thinking about Warburg's practice when compared to the direct one-to-one recreation of the *Atlas* as it existed in Warburg's lifetime.

Chapter Three: *Atlas* and Library as Informative Devices

Aby Warburg's library and his *Mnemosyne Atlas* are for me, as an artist, both art historical works that deeply interest me and jumping off points for my own artistic practice. The studies I have performed over the past two years on both of these resources have greatly expanded my thinking and understanding of Warburg's work. I have come to see important links between the moves Warburg was making both within the *Atlas* and the library and the way that I organize my own studio practice. Warburg had a way of working with images, and this method was incredibly specific but abstract in the way that he actually presented the images for display. As Warburg was aware, images have a history, a context, and he aimed to unpack their visual lineages through his considered presentation of their forms by trying to pair up, match, and track these visuals. Through replicating a number of Warburg's modes of working and systems of display I have discovered how legible or illegible the aims of these methods actually are for a contemporary viewer. And even though I am making work in a completely different time and context than Warburg, his methods of communication remain valuable. Even within this changed context, I have come to understand the way that people and/ or a public might interpret these images, and how to determine if my relationship to these images is visible or not in the work.

Initial Exposure

My exposure to Warburg began in two unrelated but significant ways and I feel the need to rehearse my initial exposure to his work in order to begin this chapter as it provides a context and further explanation of why Warburg is such a large source of inspiration for myself. I first learned of his work in my Issues in Visual Culture class; it was brought up in a discussion concerning the legibility of an argument based solely on images. Warburg was presented in this

lecture-based class alongside Andre Malraux's *Museum without Walls*, a book that, although separated by time and context from Warburg's work, was another important structure in which to think about conducting an exclusively visual argument. From my recollection, we seemed to stick to Malraux's heavy hand in altering the reproductions he used in his work. We also stuck to the iconic image of him, surrounded by his largescale reproductions spread out over the floor of his Paris apartment. By the end of class, we had begun to consider the impact that this approach would have on a history of art. We collectively found Warburg's arrangement of images unable to embody an intelligible argument, and we decided that Malraux's approach, although a bit unethical because of his acts of lighting, flipping, and cropping the reproductions in ways that were untruthful to the original works of art, brought about a clearer argument with his addition of text and iconographic details.

The other unexpected reference to Warburg's work which made me take note of him again came shortly after this initial exposure to his work in class. I must begin by explaining the context of this discussion. In the Fall of 2017, it became clear that the Fine Arts Library at the University of Texas at Austin was in danger of being shuttered and the space re-appropriated for other uses in the College. The summer prior, the first two floors of the three floored library had been renovated, without advanced notice, into classroom space and a makers-space called "The Foundry."[48] This unexpected change to the integral make-up and organization of the library was obvious, as the library was now restrained to the top floor of the building, and the books that did not fit there were sent off to library storage. This came at a point in my studio practice when I was thinking about the book form and about the space of libraries. My professor and I were discussing alternative modes of libraries and ways to make the space relevant to an audience of students who weren't previously actively engaged with it. My professor brought up Warburg's

method of “The Law of the Good Neighbor” as an alternative format that the library could use to try to recharge the space.

This connection between the libraries was fortified even further upon researching the Warburg Library in the process of writing this thesis, I discovered the Warburg Library’s own battle to keep its collection intact which transpired over the course of 2014. The library was threatened with a potential downsizing and the integration of its specialized collection into the larger University of London system, essentially destroying the unique “Law of the Good Neighbor” system within the library. I see this experience as parallel to the University of Texas’ own situation with the Fine Arts Library. The argument for the preservation of the Warburg Library argued the importance of its open stacks and the essential quality that this in person interaction with the collection provided. In our campaign to maintain the physical footprint of the Fine Arts Library on campus we argued the essential quality that walking through the stacks and directly handling the collection had on one’s ability to truly access and use the library. While this chapter does not exclusively focus on the library and “The Law of the Good Neighbor” system in relation to the artworks I discuss, the library’s impact and its relationship to other works is evident in other artworks I have created over the past two years which are not the topic of this chapter.

Atlas as Artistic Device

As sources, Warburg’s series of panels have informed my studio practice not only through their inclusion of reproductions from art history, but through the variety of methods in which Warburg selected, pinned, and curated the reproductions assembled on the panels. After a span of years, thinking about and having Warburg in the back of my mind I have come to see

how his study has come to inform my work. And this impact can be summed up in an improved relationship or understanding of images. With every work, I begin by thinking about images. I confront the question of what information an image holds. And how much of my own relationship with these images can be perceived through their inclusion in my work.[iii]

I will begin with what I had actually begun to read during these early moments of 2018. I was looking at digestible articles, specifically texts found online or through class discussions related to Warburg. These specific texts were by *New York Magazine*'s art critic, Jerry Saltz, and photography critic for *The New York Times*, Teju Cole. Both authors wrote about contemporary images in context with the history of photography and history painting. In these texts they consider contemporary images in relation to the lineage of art history and the history of image making and inquire about how legible the connections among these practiced and paced images actually are to audiences. Though Cole was the only author to explicitly reference Warburg, I believed that Saltz's discussion reflected a tendency similar to the one captured in Warburg's own practice: the tracking of a visual format and way of seeing through time.

In "Considering the Ankara Assassination Photos as History Painting," Saltz brought together a series of images taken by photographer Burhan Ozbilici of the assassination of Andrei Karlov, the Russian Ambassador to Turkey. Saltz argues that the images look reenacted and appear as if almost scripted in their depiction of the subjects, and that without the actuality of the

---

[iii] In retrospect, this period of time beginning in 2018 would have been a great moment to bring in Roland Barthes' *Camera Lucida*, as its discussion of the image and the punctum would have greatly fortified my understanding of images. But I would not read this seminal text until mid-2019, until I was already knee-deep in the works I will cite later in this chapter.

event, they would seem almost unreal. Saltz attributes this unreal and/or seemingly reenacted quality to the fact that "the poses are almost classical, frozen, or rehearsed as if from theater, ballet, painting, or mannequin display."[49] The figures seem to echo the visual language of history painting, or they appear to be like film stills, in which every position and point of view has been scripted. In what Saltz describes as "a modern-day martyrdom," he compares the positioning of the figures in the images to a Caravaggio painting or more directly, to Jacques-Louis David's *Oath of the Horatii*. In comparing the scene to David's painting, Saltz writes: "In this image, frozen perpetual motion – an entire scene of action and worldview is caught in an instant. Notice the picture is in perfect focus. This is not the shaky, out of focus, ill-framed onlooker iPhone shot of assassinations and revolutions past."[50] The images rise above the category of a "typical image" and into this realm of the extraordinary. And this distinction can be made because we are not looking at any image; we are looking at an image that passed through the lens of a trained eye.

Teju Cole's article, "The Superhero Photographs of the Black Lives Matter Movement," is about an image of Black Lives Matter protestor, Iesha Tyler being arrested by police in Baton Rouge.[51] Cole's analysis of this image was similar to Saltz's because of the way he spoke of Tyler's likeness and posturing as "iconic" or "staged." It contains this clear and quick legibility which we require as viewers. It too seems set up by the photographer as a "perfect" image, and, because of this quality, it breaks from the millions of images that have come out of the Black Lives Matter movement. Thinking about Tyler's pose in relation to the armed police that surround her, Cole unexpectedly cites Warburg and in particular his tracking of Nympha as a way to account for the legibility and iconicity of Tyler's form. Stationary, yet dressed in a billowing garment, Tyler matches Warburg's description of the Nympha figure. Though she is

unmoving, the fabric around her appears as if she has just rushed in, yet her body doesn't give into this movement, she is composed and stands erect against a uniformed force. With this stance she acts as an embodiment and conduit for this classical form tracked through time by Warburg, a continuance of the lineage begun in Greco-Roman art and brought into the modern day.

With these two articles in mind and thinking about the framework that Saltz and Cole presuppose, I set out to respond to the images that they discussed by finding images which fit visual cues that were similar to the ones they pinpointed. I began to look for images that were clear, with figures posed as if frozen in motion, and steeped in a visual history. I began to comb through image databases like AP Images and *The New York Times* to look for photographs which I believed followed these preconditions outlined by Saltz and Cole. The AP Image website updated with new images every day, allowed for a constant influx of curated images by trained photographers versed in the history of photography. At the time, I was focused on finding images that dealt with a language of protest in keeping with Cole's analysis of images and in response to what was populating the news at the moment. During this time, United States President, Donald Trump, had just recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, which led to adverse effects within the country and especially on the border between Israel and Palestine. The images that came out of the conflict began to remind me of canonical images of David battling Goliath, or the opposite, of images in more calm, serene cases which reminded me of depictions of the Virgin Mary.

From this context, I chose an image of a Palestinian protester hurtling a teargas canister back towards the opposing military (Figure 1). I used the same image, presented five times in repetition on the wall (Figure 2). The images existed as both stand-alone entities and as overlapping bodies on the wall, in an attempt to replicate the online circulation of these images

in which one image overlaps another, signaling a computer screen with multiple windows open. Referencing this circulation, I also considered the breakdown of these images and the material make-up in their online format. I begin by pixelating the image and separating it into a CMYK file. I ended up removing all but two layers of the CMYK image and changed their layer content into pink and blue layers. These layers were then printed through a Risograph machine, resulting in an overall purple-tinted image. I liked the fact that the image was blurred and distanced, seemingly sent through a number of processes and states to get it to its current quality. These levels of alteration along with the image's own blurred content, forced the image to become something else, distant from its original state and transformed into a new image. I now see this blurring as parallel to Warburg's own processing of images as discussed in Chapter Two. Warburg's images were cheap and ordered by him for the purpose of this project, freely handled and pinned up, so their quality was far from the fine works of art own materiality he was utilizing within the panel.

Over each of the risographed prints I silkscreened a different version of Sandro Botticelli's drawings intended for an illustrated version of Dante's Inferno (Figure 3). I was drawn to these illustrations because of Botticelli's visualization of an intangible space. Botticelli aimed to depict an atmosphere and did so by repeating two-dimensional symbols of fire and smoke repeated in pattern to describe the space. Smoke, in the original protest image, was already hard to make out as it blurred the figure so that only parts of his body could be discerned. By inserting this pattern onto the image, I hoped that I could further create or describe this space like Botticelli did. Laid over all of this were two transparent sheets, laser-cut into a repeating pattern which resembled the armor at the foot of Donatello's bronze visualization of *David*, circa. 1440, now housed in the Bargello National Museum in Florence, Italy (Figure 4). The use

of this pattern acted as both a reference to the sculpture and as a type of construction fencing, a symbol of a demarcation between here and there in the dispute over the boarder of these two lands.

In retrospect, I consider this first attempt at working in response to Salz, Cole, and ultimately Warburg a failure. I was tied up to secondary interpretations of Warburg's work and the methods he was employing. What I believed Saltz and Cole prescribed as "Warburgian," are now, in my eyes, not what Warburg was actually interested in but an off-brand approach to responding to this type of visual tracking. I was approaching Warburg's study through a purely visual means, only considering the visual repetition and contextualization of images, I wasn't thinking as holistically as Warburg was in considering the multitude of histories involved with these images. I was most interested in a surface level reading of Warburg's presentation methods, utilizing his mode of pinning up an image and considering it next to or overlapping another image. However, I do see this early study as an important prerequisite which would subconsciously inform my future work centering around the use of images. There are a number of reasons I consider it a failure. First, the image lacks context, it doesn't go beyond the original, and it doesn't have a related image to expand ones understanding of the original. I also don't feel that I fully understood the images. I didn't and still don't fully understand the Israeli and Palestinian conflict, and I feel that I am discussing a topic outside of my realm of knowledge, since I'm not able to debate these topics knowledgeably. Though, in all, I learned a lot about the presentation of an image to a viewer. I began to understand the legibility of images and what you can present to a viewer and how much of an explanation one must provide.

In the spring of 2019, I began another response to the *Atlas*, though this time I directly responded to its contents and its form (Figure 5). I again looked to art history as the foundation

for the work. This project, entitled *Atlas: (Achilles and Patroclus, the Laocoön, and Durer)*, as with most of my other projects, began with an image, or a series of images, which preoccupied my mind at the time. For this installation I began with a Gucci ad depicting Harry Styles supporting a sheep on his shoulders (Figure 6). Though it seemed like an unusual image, and an unusual ad, I realized that the pose had a history. This lineage stemmed from early depictions of Jesus as "the good shepherd." I found an image of this subject in my art history survey text (Figure 7). While I wasn't necessarily interested in exploring the psychological implications of Gucci depicting a pop star like Harry Styles as a Jesus-like figure, I was interested in this adoption of a form in order to sell a product, a product that didn't even seem visually present in the advertisement. This visual connection to form is where I began, though I quickly expanded beyond this single image to include more content in relation to other images and works.

This work is one of the first times in which I allowed my sexuality to become an aspect of the work. As a way to work through this new content I included things that attracted me. I looked to pop-culture, and to these male bodies from art history which were stretched and splayed to depict the ideal male form, along with representations of the intimacy that I was searching for at the time. These interests appeared with my inclusion of the Harry Styles Gucci ad, or the film still from *Call Me by Your Name*. I wanted to unpack why I was attracted to them and think about them as part of this visual lineage that I could pinpoint and display alongside these very contemporary iterations of the thing(s) I desired.

I moved back and forth between large and small arguments paced out across the wall of the installation. I saw this method as parallel to Warburg's own method of working on a series of panels, and I began to formulate these visual arguments and mix them into the overall scheme of the installation. I focused on certain images and processed them through a multitude of

printmaking methods; risographing, silk-screening, block printing, and laser-jet printing, to transform them into a new type of image. I felt that I had to process the images in order to infuse them with my own hand, my own body, so that they could became loaded with my personal touch.

I began to include a number of book scans which I blew up and printed. These scans, specific images and texts pulled from art history textbooks, brought in earlier Greek and Roman contexts which I saw as relevant to include to describe the sources I was using. In both instances using the scanned book, I was interested in the text and image as points for the viewer to reference. Specifically, with the scan from *Gardner's Art Through The Ages*, I was interested in the headline of the chapter: "Gods, Heroes, and Athletes," when placed in context on the page spread with a depiction of three men reveling on a red-figure amphora made by Euthymides (Figure 8). This image, when put in context with the beginning of the chapter text, read: "For we are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness…"[52] I chose to highlight this text and image because it makes central this authority of manliness in context with this very homoerotic and loaded display of men on the amphora. I began to ask the question: Is this depiction manly? And I became interested in the assertions that the combined text and image made as a way to introduce or frame this study of Greek Art.

I created a multitude of repeating patterns and images which I hoped could carry a viewer throughout the work. As discussed in Chapter Two, I see Warburg's reuse of certain images throughout the panels as a way to both provide emphasis and to carry a viewer through the array of images, and I also believe Warburg used the repetition of images as a way to continue or reference an argument begun in another panel. In this work, I used reproductions of two fabric patterns, one a houndstooth pattern, and the other this skintight snakeskin printed bathing suit

worn by a model as a visual cue to carry a viewer throughout the work. I also saw the patterns as references to the art historical reproductions found throughout the installation. I specifically tried to form a correlation between the snakes present in both the sculpture of the *Laocoön* and in the book reproduction of the *Great Altar of Zeus* at Pergamon. Moving away from pattern I then thought about the repetition of artworks. I used the same image of *Achilles and Patroclus* twice in the installation. Because the image was printed white on white, it was only viewable from certain positions, so I placed one reproduction high up on the wall, and the other down low, so that a viewer would have to experience the play of this visual effect.

I wanted to move beyond the confined space of the panel in Warburg's original explorations and expand it even further to take up a whole wall. I thought that by blowing up the space of the *Atlas* even more I would be able to create an even larger and more developed variation of Warburg's display. But by the end of the process I realized the necessity of the panel as a demarcation between arguments and ideas. Without this clear demarcation all of my arguments flowed together, to the point that there was no separation between one theme and another; it all became too conflated and complicated.

In the same way that there are many ways to "read" Warburg's panels, I too intended for the viewer to come away with a different narrative each time. Because there were so many possible connections that I saw within the array of reproductions, I was intent on the multitude of possible mappings that could occur with the work. But all of these possibilities prevented a clear meaning from being elicited by a viewer. The installation was beneficial in that it made me use and process a multitude of images that I had been resting on, and I was able to simulate this act of pinning up images in the studio. But I needed closer contexts and defined demarcations among themes.

I will now begin to discuss a work that was more successful in drawing from Warburg's *Atlas* but with a much more pointed and concerted effort to convey meaning and impact. I discovered a Calvin Klein ad which displayed a wrestler and a model in what seemed to simultaneously be both an act of embrace and struggle (Figure 9). The image oscillated between these two distinct readings and required me to think about the precarious signification that the image suggested. I began to see the circle the model's arms were making as a loop and a visual way to work through the image. But at the same time, I was also preoccupied with the connection the two figures made at the base of their legs, which seemed both intimate yet charged. Looking to art history, I began to consider this advertisement in context with reliefs from the Parthenon frieze. I chose a section from the overall sequence which depicted a centaur in conflict with a human. The relief sculpture is strikingly similar to the Calvin Klein ad in the way the figures manifest a circular embrace and in the way the human and the centaur's legs interlock. Considering the different original intention of this relief sculpture and the fact that it was meant to be read at a distance, I began to consider the common intentions of the two images.

Both the Calvin Klein Ad and the Parthenon Frieze are part of a larger array of visual culture which were meant to gradually convey a message through the repeated presentation of a type or series of visuals. For the Parthenon, the Frieze was just one part of this much larger pictorial program, in which by the time a viewer reached the Frieze they had already ascended past a multitude of other visuals which signified similar messaging describing Gods and other mythical narratives. This single segment from the Parthenon Frieze would be seen as part of the progression through this highly curated architectural and pictorial space, leading ultimately to the shrine of Athena. In the same way that viewers awareness and familiarity of the Parthenon program was gradually developed over time and exposure, the experience of and relationship to

seeing a Calvin Klein ad is much similar in the way the images are part of a larger series or type and grow and/ or accumulate over time. The images are infused into daily life, seen on billboards, bus ads, and circulated online. The audience is trained through exposure to know the style and type of ad as a Calvin Klein ad, so the reuse and shifting of motifs allows for an ever-evolving brand awareness to take shape. In this display I removed this content and leveled the images in a very Warburgian style, the ad and part of the Frieze are no longer part of a larger array of like images, they become part of a new context and are seen in tandem in a varied reproduction.

I continued to think about the posturing that occurs in both fashion and in the representation of the male form throughout the history of art. Expanding from this point, I consulted Edward Muybridge's studies of animal motion and chose a single photograph of wrestlers from a series of stills of them in motion (Figure 10). These two wrestlers are shown locked in an embrace on the ground. With the before and after context now removed, the image becomes a representation of a moment in time, rather than as part of a sequence, much like the selected relief from the Parthenon Frieze. I then blew up two other works from art history: a bronze finger broken off the colossal representation of Emperor Constantine from Rome and an anonymous marble sculpture of a male torso (Figure 11). I also set the space up so that the viewer could walk within the site of a theoretical photoshoot; a large pink roll of paper acted as a backdrop and a light kit illuminated this "set."

This work was more successful because of its limited number of reproductions that were also more carefully curated. All of these images clearly responded to one another, which allowed the viewer to come away with their own understanding of the images positioned in the

arrangement. The work was digestible in comparison to my earlier works responding to the *Atlas*, and I came away with a better sense of their meaning and my intention.

My most recent work, though not the product of consciously considering Warburg, still reflects Warburg's preoccupation with images. I have moved towards a more restricted and/ or curated lens of images. Warburg's study has allowed me to bring in images that aren't part of the cannon of art history or culture, and I have begun to consider the mass media as an exclusive realm to pull from and cite. In the same way that Warburg kept an image collection I feel that I am also slowly assembling my own. While my system is not organized according to Warburg's own prosaic method, my collection exists as a series of malleable time capsules, periodically added to and sifted through. The images that I pin up on my wall as part of my studio practice slowly migrate down from the wall and into a stack as their visual importance or relevance lessens. These stacks of images as they grow are then placed in folders as a way to record their former importance and to keep them for future use. Though their image fades from my mind at that time, they remain in my memory, and over time, when I remember an image that I feel is necessary to my current work I open the collection and uncover the strata of images that have been stacked on top of one another. Each image has its own story which I can remember and recount. I can sometimes remember the act of tearing a page out of a magazine, or the act of pinning it to the wall, and what images were pinned next to it for a time. With this reopening of my collection some images reappear on the wall, regaining their former glory, while others return to their folders, waiting for the opportunity to re-emerge as an important citation later on in my practice.

In the same way that Warburg set out to create a space in which he could work with his multitude of sources all around him, I feel that this presentation of images on a wall replicates

that process. I aim to bring about a space in which I can visually manifest my thinking, propose a new set of ideas, and consider the way images are positioned next to one another. In this way my studio resembles what Warburg was looking for in his creation of a "thought space." The space becomes a manifestation of my work, citations here and there, and filled with images I hope to include in future works.

In a recent work, I reused an image from a previous installation (Figure 12). This image is of the Greek hero Achilles wrapping up his lover/ friend/ comrade Patroclus, after he was injured in battle. This image, from the interior tondo of a Greek red on black figure vase, records a display of intimacy between two men. I originally used the image as the white on white print in the larger *Atlas: (Achilles and Patroclus, the Laocoön, and Durer)* installation from early 2019 (Figure 13). Now, I wanted to make its contents more legible. I again silkscreened the image, but this time printed the illustration on a piece of semi-opaque plexiglass. With the image now viewable, I became interested in the blatant flaunting of Patroclus' genitals in the scene, and the way his legs open up around Achilles. This content was legible without the background of the image's former location on a vase, or the details that highlight Achilles and Patroclus' mythic relationship. I was interested in this idea that I didn't have to explain the image to a viewer; they could see it for themselves. I presented the plane of plexiglass on a shelf in front of an olive-green panel with a silkscreened image of a Trojan-brand condom. With this context, two isolated images came together; I was interested in the distinct dialogue they were having together.

What was most productive about my class's critique of this work was the discussion revolving around the legibility of these images. My class was effectively able to conduct the analysis that I myself had developed while making the work without any need for me to speak during the critique. This experience helped me to better comprehend what Warburg was

attempting to do when presenting images absent from their original contexts on a panel together. By removing all extraneous content and presenting the images as their own forms, the only thing left to read into their relationships are the formal similarities and differences. This revealed to me that it is possible to obtain some information just through visuals, yet an analysis of them is greatly impacted when it is almost solely based on a surface level understanding of what is included in the images.

The space of the exhibition for my work is similar to the intended space of the panels for Warburg. Each work in an exhibition is part of a larger series in which each work can be read alone or in tandem to the other works in the space. As I have discussed, in the same way that the panels acted as individual spaces in which to conduct a visual argument for Warburg, each work in an exhibition conducts a single argument, which is then altered and/ or informed by its reading in context with another work in the space. There is an overall meaning or through line that appears when approaching the work, and I enjoy the fact that the works can either stand alone or in conversation with one another. Their presence allows for this dialogue to occur in the space.

Much like Warburg's own aims to make meaning out of the library, I see my own work as an extension of this space but expanding beyond it. Warburg's intended public and my own are very separate entities. Warburg was making work that would be considered by an audience of his peers, people versed in a similar background and knowledge steeped in a certain type of art history. Whereas my own artwork is meant to expand beyond this specific scholarly audience. I want an audience who is concerned with the same things as myself and versed in the images I use within my works, who have similar interests to the themes I work with or who are open to exploring the concepts that I put in front of them. I intend for my work to exist both within the

white cube and beyond it, circulating in a multitude of formats ranging from the internet to the bound book.

To continue this metaphor just a bit more, the physical book for me, as I believe it was for Warburg, is a way to equalize, to present an argument on a common plane and in a set sequence. As I have argued in Chapter Two, I feel that the *Atlas'* intended format as a book is not only a way to condense Warburg's argument into a manageable document but also a way to allow it to spread beyond the walls of the library. I conclude this chapter with an example of this effort to contain or condense an idea, in this case an exhibition, into the form of an artist's book. This example from 2020 captures two exhibitions I created in response to Act 1, Scene 4 of William Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. I was drawn to this short scene from the larger play because of the metaphorical "pre-game" that takes place between Romeo and his men before their arrival at the Capulet Mansion. Their dialogue, while foreshadowing the ill-fated love story to come, acts as this meditation on love and desire. The two installations created over the course of Fall 2019, were ways of working though the concepts I had begun to formulate and employ through my use of the text. I was also visually drawn to other reinterpretations of this play, including most importantly, Baz Lehrman's interpretation of the play in his 1990's film *Romeo and Juliet*. This pre-requisite allowed me the freedom to work with the text as I wanted and allowed me to make visual connections and contrasts that are relevant to me.

The resulting artist's book, *Prick - Meditations on Act 1, Scene 4* was a way to combine these two exhibitions into one form (Figures 14 - 29). I presented works I had created for the exhibitions and presented them as reproductions, altering their forms to fit within the book format. With this new iteration of the project I was also able to present new

texts and visuals that had been cut from the original installations. I created a sequencing of text and image that played out through the course of the artist's book. So, though the original installations were deinstalled, the works found a new form in the book.

This book provides me the optimal ability to control the viewer's interaction with the work. The artist book allows my temporary installations to exist in multiples and beyond their brief presentation. With these versions I not only have a greater hand in controlling the interpretation of my work, but I allow myself to set the pace for the reader and consider their experience based on the placement and orientation of image and word much like I do in the original installations. In the space of the book, I can begin to expand on my greater points and better contextualize the work that I am creating while also giving the work a new life beyond the exhibition.

Aby Warburg with Gertrud Bing and Franz Alber in front of Warburg's panel design, Rome, Palace Hotel, May 1929. Warburg Institute.

Conclusion

I end with an image of Warburg, Gertrud Bing, and Franz Alber in Rome from 1929. This image, a posed photograph, taken close to the end of Warburg's life alludes to the in-progress nature of Warburg's work and the malleability of his study. In the background of this image, segments of the *Atlas* can be seen pinned up, along with other reproductions from art history. I use this image because it again signals to the way Warburg worked and this sense of multiplicity that came with his study. These images and diagrams reference a work in progress and reference the multiple forms Warburg's study was intended to take. The *Atlas* was not limited to a certain form; rather it was a malleable form in which to enact thought. While Warburg did have an end goal, to create two separate volumes, one with images and the other with a written contextualization of each panel, the pathway to that final form was fluid and multi-pronged.

I am drawn to Warburg's creation of a working space, even when he was so far from the actual space of his library. And even in this makeshift study, the integral aspects of Warburg's practice are present. The room takes on an approximated form of the library. The room holds a variety of books which Warburg can pull from, as well as images and diagrams pinned to a panel leaning up against the wall. It expresses that even in an approximated form the space of the researcher holds true. It depicts how convergent Warburg's life, study, and practice, all flowed into one another. There weren't these distinct boundaries between art history and the everyday, it was all in conversation with itself. Warburg, and what remains of his scholarship, embodies this total immersion into the realm of the creative and the inquisitive.

Chapter Three Images

Figure 1: Protests against Trump's decision to recognize Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel, Bethlehem. Image by Abed Al Hashlamoun. Dec 9, 2017.

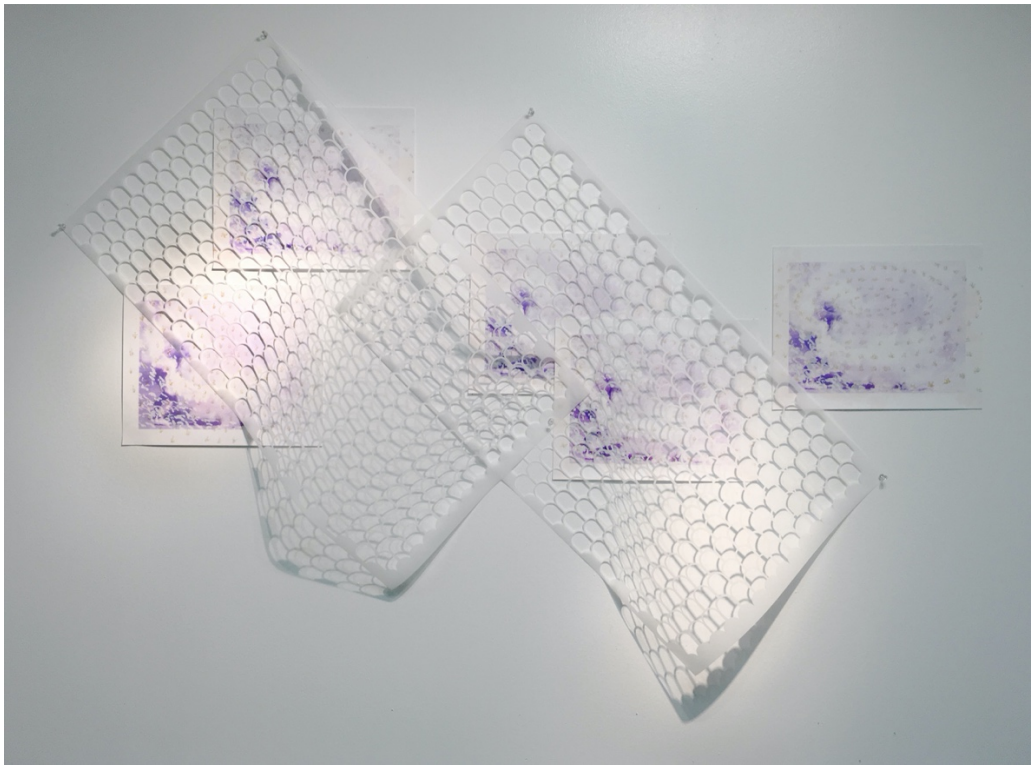


Figure 2: *A Cloud of Smoke.* Risographed Prints, Silkscreen, Laser-Cut Duralar. Instillation Variable. 2018.

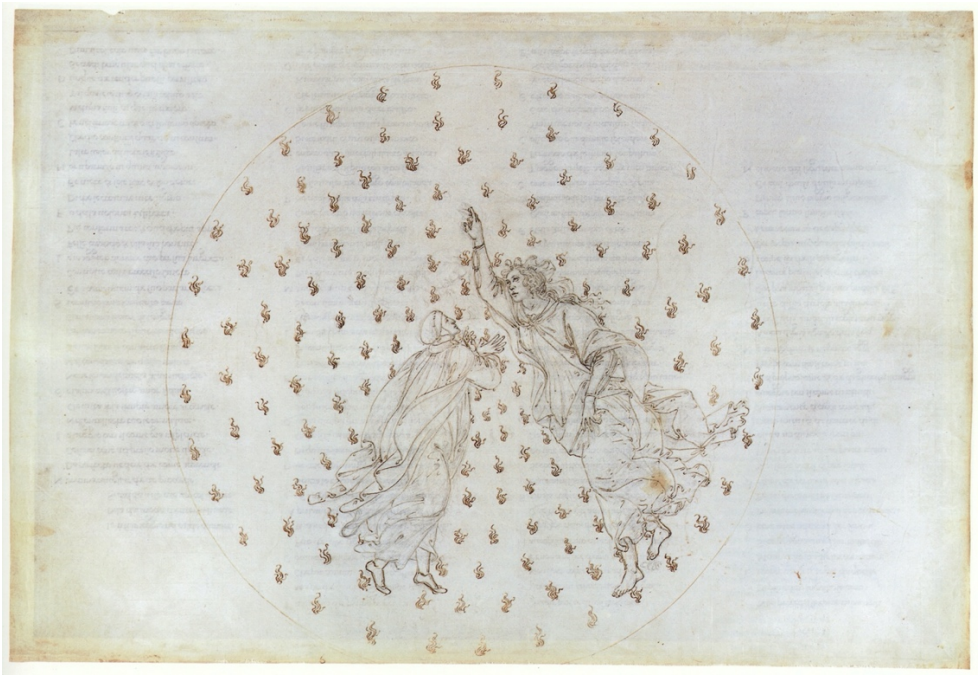


Figure 3: Dante's Divine Comedy, Paradise VI: Second Planetary Sphere. Sandro Botticelli. c. 1481-1487. Ink on Parchment.

Figure 4: *David* (Detail). Donatello. Bronze. Circa. 1440.

Figure 5: *Atlas: (Achilles and Patroclus, the Laocoon, and Durer).* Laser-jet prints on frosted Mylar, Risograph prints, linoleum-block prints on transparency, and silkscreen prints. Instillation Variable. 2019.

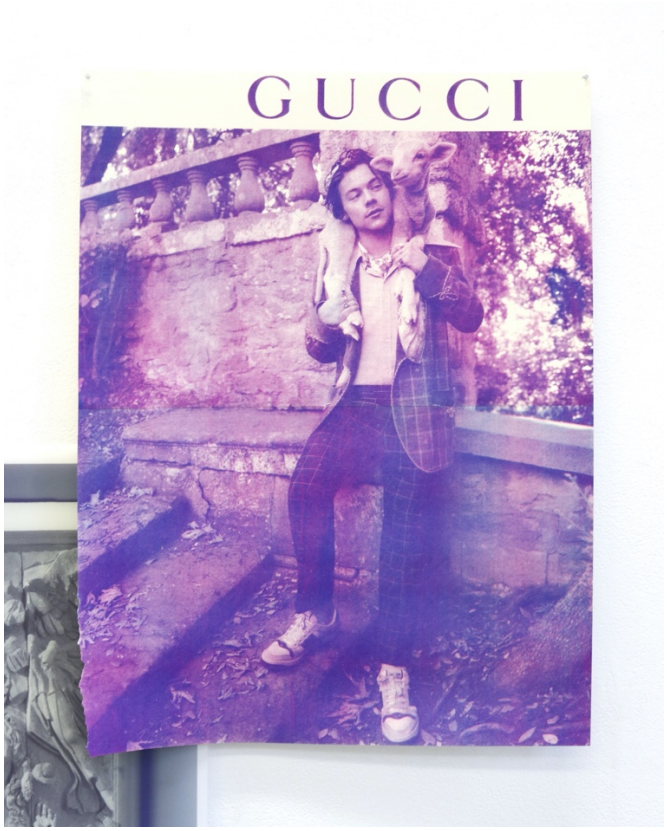
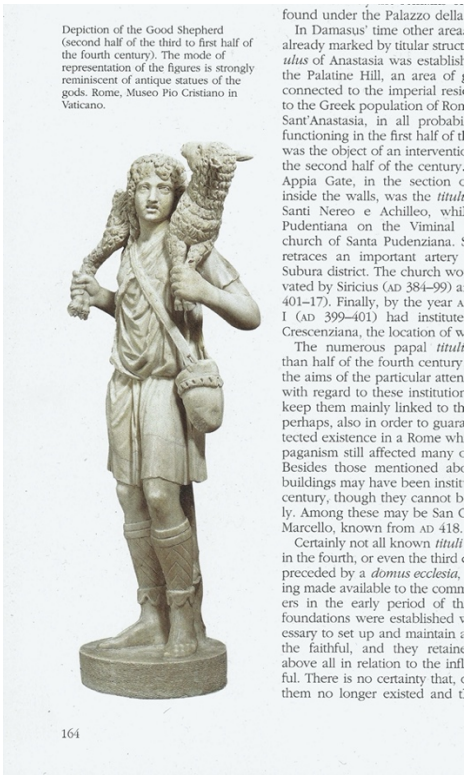


Figure 6: *Atlas: (Achilles and Patroclus, the Laocoon, and Durer)* (Detail). Laser-jet prints on frosted Mylar, Risograph prints, linoleum-block prints on transparency, and silkscreen prints. Instillation Variable. 2019.



Depiction of the Good Shepherd (second half of the third to first half of the fourth century). The mode of representation of the figures is strongly reminiscent of antique statues of the gods. Rome, Museo Pio Cristiano in Vaticano.

found under the Palazzo della
In Damasus' time other area
already marked by titular struct
ulus of Anastasia was establish
the Palatine Hill, an area of
connected to the imperial resi
to the Greek population of Ron
Sant'Anastasia, in all probabi
functioning in the first half of t
was the object of an interventic
the second half of the century.
Appia Gate, in the section
inside the walls, was the *titul*
Santi Nereo e Achilleo, whi
Pudentiana on the Viminal
church of Santa Pudenziana.
retraces an important artery
Subura district. The church wo
vated by Siricius (AD 384–99) a
401–17). Finally, by the year A
I (AD 399–401) had institute
Crescenziana, the location of w
The numerous papal *titul*
than half of the fourth century
the aims of the particular atten
with regard to these institutior
keep them mainly linked to th
perhaps, also in order to guara
tected existence in a Rome wh
paganism still affected many
Besides those mentioned abo
buildings may have been instit
century, though they cannot b
ly. Among these may be San
Marcello, known from AD 418.
Certainly not all known *tituli*
in the fourth, or even the third
preceded by a *domus ecclesia*,
ing made available to the comn
ers in the early period of th
foundations were established
essary to set up and maintain
the faithful, and they retaine
above all in relation to the infl
ful. There is no certainty that,
them no longer existed and t

164

Figure 7: Scan depicting "the good shepherd" from the book *Rome: Art and Architecture. p. 164.* Konemann.

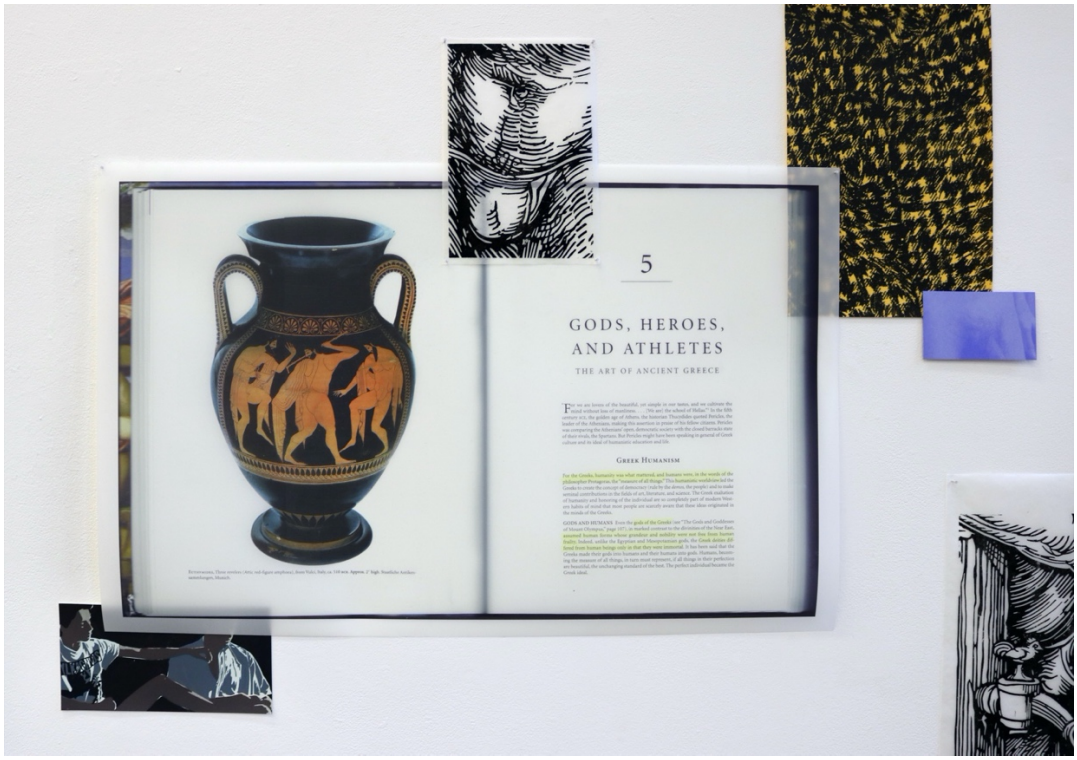


Figure 8: *Atlas: (Achilles and Patroclus, the Laocoon, and Durer)* (Detail). Laser-jet prints on frosted Mylar, Risograph prints, linoleum-block prints on transparency, and silkscreen prints. Instillation Variable. 2019.

Figure 9: Calvin Klein Ad from *Pose (Detail)*.

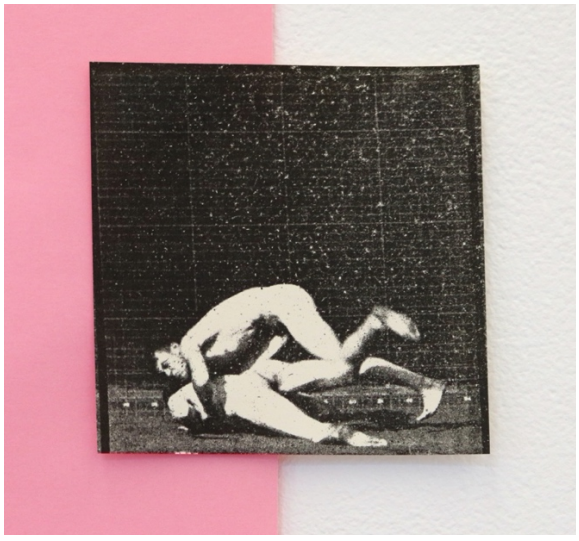


Figure 10: Excerpt of Edward Muybridge's *Studies in Animal Motion* as part of *Pose* (Detail).

Figure 11: *Pose. Pink craft paper, mylar, silkscreen, acrylic paint, light, and risographed poster. 2019.*

Figure 12: *Prick – Achilles and Patroclus*. Silkscreen on Plexi-glass and Panel. 2019.

Figure 13: *Achilles and Patroclus* as part of *Atlas: (Achilles and Patroclus, the Laocoon, and Durer)*. Silkscreen on Paper. 2019.

Figures 14 - 29: *Prick - Meditations on Act 1, Scene 4*. Silkscreened cover with Risographed Interior, Rivet Bound. Edition of 37. 11 x 15.5 inches. 2020.

Figure 15: *Prick - Meditations on Act 1, Scene 4*. (Detail).

Figure 16: *Prick - Meditations on Act 1, Scene 4*. (Detail).

Figure 17: *Prick - Meditations on Act 1, Scene 4*. (Detail).

Figure 18: *Prick - Meditations on Act 1, Scene 4*. (Detail).

Figure 19: *Prick - Meditations on Act 1, Scene 4*. (Detail).

Figure 20: *Prick - Meditations on Act 1, Scene 4*. (Detail).

Figure 21: *Prick - Meditations on Act 1, Scene 4*. (Detail).

Figure 22: *Prick - Meditations on Act 1, Scene 4*. (Detail).

Figure 23: *Prick - Meditations on Act 1, Scene 4*. (Detail).

Figure 24: *Prick - Meditations on Act 1, Scene 4*. (Detail).

Figure 25: *Prick - Meditations on Act 1, Scene 4*. (Detail).

Figure 26: *Prick - Meditations on Act 1, Scene 4*. (Detail).

Figure 27: *Prick - Meditations on Act 1, Scene 4*. (Detail).

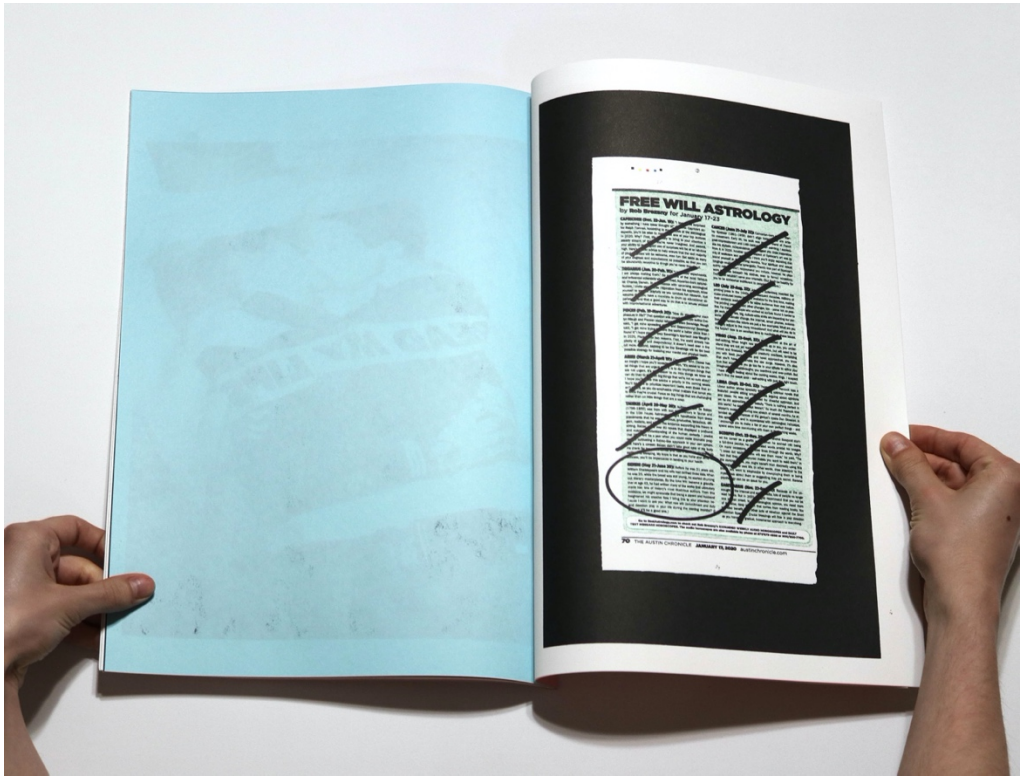


Figure 28: *Prick - Meditations on Act 1, Scene 4*. (Detail).

Figure 29: *Prick - Meditations on Act 1, Scene 4*. (Detail).

Bibliography

Angel, Sara. “The Mnemosyne Atlas and the Meaning of Panel 79 in Aby Warburg's Oeuvre as a Distributed Object.” *Leonardo*, vol. 44, no. 3, 2011, pp. 266–267. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/20869467. Accessed 9 March 2019.

Apkon, Stephen. *The Age of the Image: Redefining Literacy in a World of Screens*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014.

Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. Translated by Richard Howard, Hill and Wang, 2010.

Benjamin, Walter. *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*. Edited by Hannah Arendt, Schocken Books, 2007.

Benjamin, Walter. *One-Way Street and Other Writings*. Penguin, 2009.

Borges, Jorge Luis, and William Gibson. *Labyrinths: Selected Stories & Other Writings*. Edited by Donald A. Yates and James East Irby, New Directions, 2007.

Buck-Morss, Susan. *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*. MIT Press, 1993.

Bush, Kathryn, et al. *Art History as Cultural History: Warburg's Projects*. Edited by Richard Woodfield, United States, 2000.

Cole, Teju. *Known and Strange Things*. Faber & Faber, 2017.

Cole, Teju. “The Superhero Photographs of the Black Lives Matter Movement.” *The New York Times*, 26 July 2016, www.nytimes.com/2016/07/31/magazine/the-superhero-photographs-of-the-black-lives-matter-movement.html.

Didi-Huberman, Georges. *Atlas, or, The Anxious Gay Science*. Translated by Shane B. Lillis, The University of Chicago Press, 2018.

Didi-Huberman, Georges. *The Surviving Image: Phantoms of Time and Time of Phantoms: Aby Warburg's History of Art*. Translated by Harvey Mendelsohn, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018.

Donadio, Rachel. “Scholars Fear Loss of Eden in London.” *The New York Times*, 10 Oct. 2014, www.nytimes.com/2014/10/11/books/warburg-institute-threatened-by-funding-woes.html.

Eco, Umberto. *The Name of the Rose*. Penguin Random House, 2016.

Eisenstein, Sergei M. *THE FILM SENSE*. Translated by Jay Leyda, HARCOURT BRACE JOVANOVICH, 1975.

Forster, Kurt W. “Aby Warburg's History of Art: Collective Memory and the Social Mediation of Images.” *Daedalus*, vol. 105, no. 1, 1976, pp. 169–176. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/20024391. Accessed 27 Apr. 2020.

“From Aby Warburg to E.H. Gombrich: A Problem of Method.” *Myths, Emblems, Clues*, by Carlo Ginzburg, Hutchinson Radius, 1990.

Gilbert, Annette, editor. *Publishing as Artistic Practice*. Sternberg Press, 2020.

Gombrich, Ernst Hans Josef, and Fritz Saxl. *Aby Warburg: an Intellectual Biography*. The Warburg Institute, 1970.

Gopnik, Adam. “In the Memory Ward.” *The New Yorker*, 2015, www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/03/16/in-the-memory-ward.

Gordon, Peter Eli, and John P. McCormick. *Weimar Thought: a Contested Legacy*. Princeton University Press, 2013.

Grafton, Anthony, and Jeffrey F. Hamburger, editors. *The Warburg Institute: a Special Issue on the Library and Its Readers*. Duke University Press, in Association with Bar-Ilan University, 2012.

Grasskamp, Walter. *The Book on the Floor: André Malraux and the Imaginary Museum*. Translated by Fiona Elliott, The Getty Research Institute, 2016.

Helsvig, Simen Joachim. “– Aby Warburg Created Marvellous Theoretical Fictions.” *Kunstkritikk*, 28 May 2015, kunstkritikk.com/aby-warburg-created-marvellous-theoretical-fictions/.

Herschend, Jonn, and Will Rogan. *The Thing - the Book: A Monument to the Book as Object*. Chronicle Books, 2014.

Holzer, Anton. “Picture Stories: the Rise of the Photoessay in the Weimar Republic.” *International Journal for History, Culture And Modernity*, Translated by Elisabeth Lauffer, vol. 6, no. 1, 2018, pp. 1–39., doi:10.18352/hcm.520.

Johnson, Christopher D. *Memory, Metaphor, and Aby Warburg's Atlas of Images*. Cornell University Press, 2012.

Kalkstein, Molly. “Aby Warburg's Mnemosyne Atlas: On Photography, Archives, and the Afterlife of Images.” *Rutgers Art Review*, rar.rutgers.edu/aby-warburgs-mnemosyne-atlas/.

Kracauer, Siegfried. *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*. Translated by Thomas Y. Levin, Harvard University Press, 1995.

Levine, Emily J. *Dreamland of Humanists: Warburg, Cassirer, Panofsky, and the Hamburg School*. Univ Of Chicago Press, 2015.

Magilow, Daniel H. *Photography of Crisis: the Photo Essays of Weimar Germany*. Penn State Univ Press, 2015.

MANGUEL, ALBERTO. *PACKING MY LIBRARY: an Elegy and Ten Digressions*. YALE UNIV Press, 2019.

Manguel, Alberto. *The Library at Night*. Yale University Press, 2009.

Mann, Nicholas, et al. *Photographs at the Frontier: Aby Warburg in America 1895-1896*. Merrell Holberton in Association with the Warburg Institute, 1998.

Mazzucco, Katia. "(Photographic) Subject Matter: Fritz Saxl Indexing Mnemosyne - A Stratigraphy of the Warburg Institute Photographic Collection's System." *Visual Resources*, vol. 30, no. 3, Sept. 2014.

Mazzucco, Katia. "Images on the Move: Some Notes on the Bibliothek Warburg Bildersammlung (Hamburg) and the Warburg Institute Photographic Collection (London)." *Art Libraries Journal* , vol. 38, no. 4, 2013.

Mazzucco, Katia. "The Work of Ernst H Gombrich on the Aby M. Warburg Fragments." *Journal of Art Historiography* , vol. 5, Dec. 2011.

Merewether, Charles, editor. *The Archive*. Whitechapel, 2006.

Michaud, Philippe-Alain. *Aby Warburg and the Image in Motion*. Translated by Sophie Hawkes, Zone Books, 2007.

"Mnemosyne. Meanderings through Aby Warburg's Atlas." *Mnemosyne*, live-warburglibrarycornelledu.pantheonsite.io/.

Murakami, Haruki. *The Strange Library*. Vintage Digital, 2017.

Nelson, Robert S. "The Slide Lecture, or the Work of Art 'History' in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 26, no. 3, 2000, pp. 414–434. *Jstor*, doi:10.1086/448973.

Nicolai, Olaf, and Jan Wenzel. *Four Times through the Labyrinth*. Spector Books, 2012.

Papapetros, Spyros. "The Eternal Seesaw: Oscillations in Warburg's Revival." *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 26, no. 2, 2003, pp. 169–176. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/3600395. Accessed 04 May 2019.

Rampley, Matthew. “Aby Warburg: Kulturwissenschaft, Judaism and the Politics of Identity.” *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 33, no. 3, 2010, pp. 319–335. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/40983290. Accessed 22 Dec. 2020.

Querini, Gino. “On the Political Use of Images. Some Reflections on the Last Panels of Aby Warburg's Mnemosyne Atlas.” *Studies in Visual Arts and Communication: An International Journal*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2015, journalonarts.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/SVACij_Vol2_No2-2015-Querini-Warburg_Mnemosyne_Atlas.pdf.

Rumberg, Per. *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History*. Edited by Constanza Caraffa, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011.

Schoell-Glass, Charlotte. *Aby Warburg and Anti-Semitism Political Perspectives on Images and Culture*. Wayne State Univ. Press, 2008.

Schoell-Glass, Charlotte. “Aby Warburg's Late Comments on Symbol and Ritual.” *Science in Context*, vol. 12, no. 4, 1999, pp. 621–642., doi:10.1017/s026988970000363x.

Stetler, Pepper. *Stop Reading! Look!: Modern Vision and the Weimar Photographic Book*. University of Michigan Press, 2015.

Stonard, John-Paul. “Life in Motion.” *Frieze*, Oct. 2016, frieze.com/article/life-motion.

Turpin, Etienne. *FANTASIES OF THE LIBRARY*. Edited by Anna-Sophie Springer, MIT Press, 2018.

Voon, Claire. “Concerns Arise About Future of Important Warburg Art History Archive.” *Hyperallergic*, 15 Aug. 2014, hyperallergic.com/143774/concern-arise-about-future-of-important-warburg-art-history-archive/.

Warburg, Aby M. *Images from the Region of the Pueblo Indians of North America*. Translated by Michael P. Steinberg, Cornell University Press, 1995.

Warburg, Aby, et al. *Aby Warburg Gesammelte Schriften: Studienausgabe*. Akademie Verlag, 2008.

[1] This allusion to Jorge Luis Borges' conception of the library is directly hinted to in the novel itself with the character, Jorge of Burgos.

[2] Borges, Jorge Luis, and William Gibson. *Labyrinths: Selected Stories & Other Writings*. Edited by Donald A. Yates and James East Irby, New Directions, 2007. Pg. 51

[3] Ibid. Pg. 57

[4] "The History of Warburg's Library." *Aby Warburg: an Intellectual Biography*, by Ernst Hans Gombrich and Fritz Saxl, Phaidon, 1986, p. 327.

[5] The use of this system is still employed today, and descriptions on how to navigate the system can be found on the Warburg's website. https://warburg.libguides.com/classification

[6] The full range of these subcategories has changed over the course of years, but an approximation of these sub-categories can be found in the current make-up of the library. These categories range from Society and Culture to the Transmission of Classical Texts. https://warburg.libguides.com/classification

[7] Baxandall, Michael. "Is Durability Itself Not Also A Moral Quality?" *Common Knowledge*, vol. 18, no. 1, 2012, p. 30., doi:10.1215/0961754x-1456863.

[8] Katia Mazzucco. "(Photographic) Subject Matter: Fritz Saxl Indexing Mnemosyne – A Stratigraphy of the Warburg Institute Photographic Collection's System." Visual Resources, Volume 30, Number 3, September 2014.

[9] Ibid. p. 203.

[10] Ibid. p. 205.

[11] Ibid. p. 205.

[12] Ibid. p. 205.

[13] Ibid. p. 205.

[14] https://catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/search~S12/

[15] Wood, Christopher S. "Dromenon." *Common Knowledge*, vol. 18, no. 1, 2012, pp. 113–114., doi:10.1215/0961754x-1456908.

[16] Michaud, Philippe-Alain. *Aby Warburg and the Image in Motion*. Translated by Sophie Hawkes, Zone Books, 2007, p. 233.

[17] Ibid. p. 233.

[18] The term "atlas" traditionally refers to a bound collection of maps, charts and/or illustrations that together are meant to depict the world through a variety of different types of representation. "Atlas" can also refer to the Titan of the same name, punished by Zeus to eternally carry the weight of the world, bound forever to keep the sky upright. These two associations guide one's reading of Warburg's *Atlas*: a visual ordering of the image world.

[19] https://warburg.library.cornell.edu/about Christopher D. Johnson

[20] Zhao, Emily. "Johann Joachim Winckelmann and the Birth of Art History." *Wellesley University*, Omeka, omeka.wellesley.edu/piranesi-rome/exhibits/show/winckelmann/introduction.

[21] "The Lateran Treaty." *The Lateran Treaty*, 17 May 2018, vatican.com/The-Lateran-Treaty/.

[22] "The Lateran Treaty." *The Lateran Treaty*, 17 May 2018, vatican.com/The-Lateran-Treaty/.

[23] "Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography." *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography*, by E. H. Gombrich and Fritz Saxl, Phaidon, 1986, p. 279.

[24] Michaud, Philippe-Alain. *Aby Warburg and the Image in Motion*. Translated by Sophie Hawkes, Zone Books, 2007. pp. 142-143. Quotation of Arnaldo Momigliano recalling a memory of Gertrude Bing in which the art historian disappeared into the crowded streets of Romeo on this day to witness the demonstrations and revival of paganism.

[25] Massimo, Del Sole Fabio, and Patrizia Pelorosso. *Orvieto's Duomo: San Brizio's Chapel (the Nuova Chapel): the Final Judgment by Luca Signorelli ; Mirabilia: a Guide to the Places of the Apocalypse*. Cultour, 2009. p. 30.

[26] Harris, Beth, and Steven Zucker. "Bernini, Cathedra Petri (Chair of St. Peter) (Video)." *Khan Academy*, Khan Academy, www.khanacademy.org/humanities/monarchy-enlightenment/baroque-art1/baroque-italy/v/gian-lorenzo-bernini-cathedra-petri-chair-of-st-peter-c-120-80-b-c-e.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Johnson, Christopher D. "Mnemosyne: Meanderings through Aby Warburg's Atlas: Cornell University." *Mnemosyne - Meandering Through Aby Warburg's Atlas*, warburg.library.cornell.edu/panel-image/panel-79-image-81.

[29] Illustrated supplement from the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, no. 209, evening edition, 7/30/1929, p.9.

[30] "Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography." *Aby Warburg: an Intellectual Biography*, by E. H. Gombrich and Fritz Saxl, Phaidon, 1986, p. 280.

[31] Illustrated supplement from the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, no. 209, evening edition, 7/30/1929, p. 9.

[32] Gustav Stresemann [German foreign minister of the Weimar Republic] signs the final protocol of the Locarno Treaty; from the morning edition of Tempo, 2nd yr., no. 204, 9/3/1929.

[33] The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Pact of Locarno." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 24 Nov. 2018, www.britannica.com/event/Pact-of-Locarno.

[34] "The express-train catastrophe at Düren" (a dying man receives the last rites (*viaticum*) from the *Hamburger Mittags-Blatt*, 33rd yr., no. 199, 8/27/1929, p. 1.

[35] "Aby Warburg and Anti-Semitism Political Perspectives on Images and Culture." *Aby Warburg and Anti-Semitism Political Perspectives on Images and Culture*, by Charlotte Schoell-Glass, Wayne State Univ. Press, 2008, p. 139. "Warburg never addressed the theme of anti-Semitism and Jew-hating as a pictorial tradition, nor as far as we can tell did he ever collect any meaningful amount of material on this theme."

[36] The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Seppuku." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 3 Jan. 2020, www.britannica.com/topic/seppuku.

[37] Kalkstein, Molly. "Aby Warburg's Mnemosyne Atlas: On Photography, Archives, and the Afterlife of Images." *Rutgers Art Review*, rar.rutgers.edu/aby-warburgs-mnemosyne-atlas/. p. 58.

[38] Kalkstein, Molly. "Aby Warburg's Mnemosyne Atlas: On Photography, Archives, and the Afterlife of Images." *Rutgers Art Review*, rar.rutgers.edu/aby-warburgs-mnemosyne-atlas/. p. 59.

[39] Michaud, Philippe-Alain. *Aby Warburg and the Image in Motion*. Translated by Sophie Hawkes, Zone Books, 2007, p. 278.

[40] Per Rumberg in his study of the panels asserts that the panels were photographed within the circular reading room of the Hamburg Warburg Library strictly because of the amount of natural lighting and the established, uniform system employed in the space, which allowed the panels to be hooked up and photographed in the same space. It is utility which Rumberg argues was the intention of their placement in this space.

---

[41] Gombrich, Ernst Hans Josef, and Fritz Saxl. *Aby Warburg: an Intellectual Biography*. The Warburg Institute, 1970, p. 288.

[42] Molly Kalkstein. "Aby Warburg's *Mnemosyne Atlas*: On Photography, Archives, and the Afterlife of Images." *Rutgers Art Review.* Pg. 52. https://rar.rutgers.edu/aby-warburgs-mnemosyne-atlas/

[43] Warburg compiled a photographic display in the form of the panels for a lecture he gave entitled "Antiquity in Ghirlandaio's Workshop" at the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome in 1929. Details about the lecture and the means to accumulate the images for display can be found on the Warburg Institute's Website. https://warburg.sas.ac.uk/whats-on/news/exhibition-verkn%C3%BCpfungszwang/bilderreihe-hertziana

[44] This document is known to me because of the Molly Kalkstein's discussion of the version in her article, "Aby Warburg's *Mnemosyne Atlas*: On Photography, Archives, and the Afterlife of Images."

[45] "Mnemosyne. Meanderings through Aby Warburg's Atlas." *Home Page | Mnemosyne*, Cornell University, warburg.library.cornell.edu/.

[46] "Aby Warburg: Bilderatlas Mnemosyne – The Original" Haus der Kulturen der Welt. https://www.hkw.de/en/programm/projekte/2020/aby_warburg/bilderatlas_mnemosyne_start.php

[47] Warburg, Aby. "Aby Warburg: Bilderatlas Mnemosyne: The Original: Hardcover." *Barnes & Noble*, Hatje Cantz Verlag GmbH & Co KG, 26 May 2020, www.barnesandnoble.com/w/aby-warburg-aby-warburg/1135509456.

[48] Bond, Sarah E. "After Uproar, University of Texas Decides Not to Relocate Its Fine Arts Library." *Hyperallergic*, Hyperallergic, 10 Apr. 2018, hyperallergic.com/437093/ut-austin-fine-arts-library-saved/.

[49] Saltz, Jerry. "Considering the Ankara Assassination Photos as History Painting." December 20, 2016. *New York Magazine*

[50] Ibid.

[51] Cole, Teju. "The Superhero Photographs of the Black Lives Matter Movement." July 26, 2016. *The New York Times*

[52] Mamiya, Christin J. "Gods, Heroes, and Athletes." *Gardner's Art through the Ages. Fred S Kleiner; Christin J Mamiya; Helen Gardner*, by Fred S. Kleiner, 12th ed., Thomson Wadsworth, 2004, pp. 104–105.